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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

CHURCH CONGRESSES AND DIOCESAN CONFERENCES.

ONE seldom takes up a newspaper nowadays without meeting with something in the shape either of intelligence or of comment to remind him of the change which has come over the Church of England. Church Congresses, Diocesan Synods or Conferences, and other periodical or occasional meetings of ecclesiastical dignitaries with the clergy and laity of the district, testify to the increasing life and activity that pervade the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, considered as a religious institution. We rejoice to see this. We have read with unfeigned satisfaction whatever evidence we find in the reports of these gatherings, which proves that "the people who have sat in darkness have seen a great light." And, in saying this, we do not allude, in the remotest degree, to either the opinions or the faiths of the members of the Establishment, but mainly to the more Christian spirit in which they look at their own position, and at the relations they sustain towards "those who are without." In this respect we mark a great improvement, and although, as was to have been expected, the Establishment theory is stoutly, and sometimes passionately, maintained at most of these meetings, we are strongly of opinion that, on the whole, the papers read at them, the discussions had, and the nameless sort of refinement and elevation which a social consultation on religious questions of practical interest usually tends to encourage, cannot but contribute much towards results which all earnest Christians, whether in the Church or out of it, desire to witness.

At the Bath and Wells Diocesan Conference held last week, for example, the bishop opened the assembly with some observations, the tone of which illustrates the foregoing remarks. "We know," he said, "that in different parts of the country there is a very active, stirring, and determined party who will not rest from their labours short of pulling down the Church from the place which it has occupied ever since England has been a Christian country. The question is how we are to meet that. Not in a spirit of bitterness or uncharitableness, not crying out against the bad motives of those who take that course; and it is no business of ours what these motives are, if we are perfectly convinced their object to be the injury of Christianity in England, and grievous injury to our native country. We have our opinions as well as our opponents; we have the same means of legitimate warfare; and therefore we, as members of the Church, if we wish to see the Church pursuing her beneficent course with great effect in Christianising the country, and if we wish to see our native country standing before God and man as the upholder of God's church, and as acknowledging and professing the great truths of the Gospel, must endeavour, not by splitting ourselves into a thousand foolish factions, but in a spirit of wisdom and charity, to draw ourselves closer and closer in the bonds of Christian fellowship." Well, so far as these words go, the utterance of them by a bishop presiding over a diocesan conference, must be hailed as a great advance upon what used to be episcopal advice on such a topic. It is not, perhaps, just what Christian love and the spirit of brotherhood might wish it to be. It does not fully express all that true affection is capable of expressing. But it must awaken serious reflection, and will certainly do more good to the religious character of the listeners or readers, than it will do harm to the efforts which it is meant to condemn.

The movement for disestablishment and disendowment will not be impeded by these congresses and conferences. On the contrary, the more successful they are, the easier will be the severance between the ecclesiastical and the political which it is our object to achieve. If the contest between Establishmentarians and non-Establishmentarians can but be restricted within that region which is covered by a religious atmosphere, we who believe in the unsuitableness, as well as the unscripturalness, of the union of Church and State, have good reason to be confident of the issue. We are told, indeed, that "if the Church would maintain her position, she must raise her standard." This apothegm is ascribed to the Bishop of Gloucester, who, in his visitation charge delivered last week in Bristol Cathedral, asked, "Shall we rise to the high standard of energy and usefulness to which the best public opinion seems now to point as that which must be attained if our Church is to be the Church of the nation? or shall we only just rise high enough to satisfy current requirements, and in the end fail to have made good our title to the veritable Church of England, the Church of deservedly national preference and of national sympathy and love?" Liberationists who understand and appreciate their own principles will be as anxious as the bishop is that the Church of England *should* raise her standard of spiritual life and activity. They are not jealous of any progress she may make in these regards. They are not unwilling that she should become "the Church of deservedly national preference, and of national sympathy and love." She will never do this by virtue of her political or legal pre-eminence and privileges, nor will a higher religious development conduce to "maintain her position" as an Establishment. This is just now, the great but natural mistake of Church rulers. They think that the more godly, the more heavenly-minded, the more devoutly active, and the more spiritually successful the Church of England shall become, the more secure she will be of retaining her political ascendancy. No conclusion can be further from the truth. The very qualities which will exalt her and give her power as a spiritual institution, will disqualify her for secular alliances. Under such conditions, union with the State will not answer her purpose, as it certainly will not the purposes of the politicians who now most highly favour it. Beyond a certain point, every step towards Church success, is a step towards disestablishment.

We heartily wish the most abundant success to these Church congresses and diocesan and ruridiaconal conferences. We entirely agree with the *Morning Post* that "the *rationale* of their proceedings is quite simple." We also agree with our contemporary that, "if conducted as hitherto they have been—with ability, common sense, and charity, they cannot but be useful." We do not wonder that they have been assailed by Erastians, who desire that the Church should be nothing more than "a branch of the Civil Service." They see clearly enough the inevitable tendency of frequent mutual consultations and discussions upon Church responsibilities, duties, and methods of action, by clergy and laity, and do not like it. Liberationists also see it, and watch it with hope. We trust there is no lack of charity in the latter. They do but wish that the spirit of the Church of England may rise, under sedulous culture, superior to the slavery in which she is held by law, and to the bribes with which law has purchased her birthright of freedom.

DR. ALLON, DR. GREEN, AND MR. THOMAS ON THE NONCONFORMIST MINISTRY.

THE papers on the ministry read at the autumnal meetings of the two Congregational Unions at Swansea and Northampton, by Dr. Allon, Dr. Green, and Mr. Thomas, of Bristol, open questions worthy of the most attentive study of the Free Churches, and, indeed, of all who wish well to the spiritual interests of England and her colonies. England is half filled with wasted forces—forces wasted through sheer lack of method or defective management; but it is questionable whether there exists a more signal example of such waste than that which is presented by the interior view of the Nonconformist colleges provided by the above-named gentlemen. Dr. Allon informs us that the Independents possess sixteen colleges and institutes, having thirty-eight professors, 368 students, and an aggregate annual income of 25,000*l*. In a majority of these colleges there are only two professors, who are expected to "fill the faculties of classics, mathematics, mental and moral philosophy, English literature, ecclesiastical history, Biblical exegesis and systematic and pastoral theology." The classes, says Dr. Green, whose vigorous paper well deserves study far beyond the limits of Baptist Christendom—

> Often consist of four or five students each; nay, of three or two, sometimes of not more than one. The teachers have so to divide and break up their work that they can scarcely ever concentrate their powers on special topics which they might make their own, and on which they might contribute their share, not only to the tasks of the college, but to the literature of the age. And too often the pupils also lack enthusiasm. How can they be enthusiastic? Every incitement save that which arises from the greatness and holiness of the work itself, is lacking. There is no sympathy of numbers, little quickening emulation.

Dr. Allon confirms this testimony with respect to his own community:

> From inquiries that I have made, I find that some of our professors are employed with as many classes sixteen hours a week, often having but two or three students in a class, and yet for these they must prepare as carefully as for thirty, and often written lectures—a degree of toil that, both intellectually and physically, is cruelly distressing and disabling.

But the half is not yet told. It appears that a very large proportion of the students who enter these colleges commence their brief curriculum—averaging four years in duration—in a state of almost total destitution of classical preparatory culture; so that a large part of the allotted time is expended in acquiring some knowledge of the learned languages, and in other necessary studies, leaving but a fragment for their special theological pursuits, which, if

justice were done to them, would themselves absorb more than all the permitted time of ministerial education. The cause and the effect of this condition of affairs are alike evident. The majority of persons entering the Nonconformist ministry have not enjoyed many advantages of education in early life. Only a small fraction of the educated sons of the Dissenting *bourgeoisie* devote themselves to the ministry of the Gospel in the churches of their fathers. The greatest and noblest of all functions —that of being the ministers of truth and grace to the communities which maintain the precious heritage of intellectual and spiritual freedom— is forsaken for cotton-spinning, cloth-weaving, and other remunerative industries, and abandoned to men of humbler rank but diviner aspirations. While the young men of the wealthier families continue to be such that they would think it scorn to serve God in this ministry, perhaps the churches may console themselves for such lack of service by the reflection that the choice of occupation actually made indicates, in such cases, a certain unfitness for a life of sacrificial consecration. And if the ministry be chiefly recruited from men self made—let us say, rather, divinely impelled to this enterprise—the churches may at least remember with submission that the kingdom of heaven emphatically belongs to the poor, and that eminence in birth or literary attainment, however welcome, are not essential to the ministry of reconciliation. But the effect of this lamentable absence of impulse towards the ministry among educated youth, is seen in the hard conditions under which collegiate training is carried forward among the Nonconformists. If those who, through their early classical training, would be enabled to spend the whole period of the curriculum in theological studies, will not dedicate themselves to this work, it remains only to accept the candidature of those who must learn almost everything within the brief space of their college residence. But it will be with this result, that the theological education so given must be extremely limited in both its breadth and depth. It is not within the compass of human power to convert a callow aspirant to the ministry, however earnest and diligent, in four years, into even a tolerable scholar and theologian. It is inevitable that many of the persons so started on their career should carry forth with them not only the remaining faults of youthful one-sidedness or ambition, but also the acquired faults of half-learned pedantry, and an invincible passion for individual leaders.

But there is surely no necessity to complicate the already difficult problem of educating the Nonconformist ministry by maintaining the chaotic arrangements which Drs. Allon and Green have exposed. By all means let amalgamation of the colleges into several centres be aimed at throughout the whole of England. Let colleges for elementary culture be set apart by themselves, and colleges where the attainments of the students enable them to enter on a prolonged theological course be separated from merely preparatory schools. Let the funds be redistributed, so as to provide in a few great institutes an efficient staff of professors, amply paid, and fitted to attract, if you will, the youth of the most cultured families under their shadow. Let those heads of colleges who have in past time served well in their offices, but are now incapacited by age or infirmity, be handsomely pensioned; and finally, if it be necessary, let a public fund be raised for giving effect to these needful reforms. Towards such a consummation, on which depends the spiritual future of Nonconformity, nothing will tend more than a serious consideration of the papers to which we have drawn attention at this time.

There is, however, one aspect of the case not referred to by Dr. Allon, on which we shall venture a few words, prompted and supported herein by some of those who ought best to know whereof they affirm. An equality in the education of Nonconformist ministers is not likely to be reached in our day, perhaps it will never be desirable. Out of every hundred ministers appointed to pastorates last year, forty had received no college education whatsoever. We are by no means prepared to assert that the "uneducated" forty are in all cases the intellectual and spiritual inferiors of the sixty who have received at least some tincture of learning. There is a certain vigorous common sense and earnestness of character which often reaches practical results unattained by learned and half-learned men. For such abilities there is likely to be a large demand in days to come, and men of true scholarship will be the last to discourage the endeavours of such natural or inspired geniuses in appropriate spheres. But there is one acquisition which ought to be demanded both from the learned and unlearned ministers of the Gospel, on which we presume to think insufficient stress is laid in some of the colleges, and which has more to do with the creation of thought and with practical success than almost any other—a habit of enthusiastic study of the Sacred Scriptures. If the ministry among the Nonconformists be not a ministry of the Word, it appears to us to be of very small value; and the Bible cannot be explained if it be not constantly studied. The study of the Bible as a whole is the only sufficient antidote to the scepticisms which are eating out the heart of Protestant Christendom, and amongst other hearts, the hearts of its ministers. If all that the people are to learn of the Bible among the Free Churches be from the texts chosen as pegs on which to hang orations on things in general, or from the chapters chosen at will by the authors of such orations for rapid reading in church, there will not, we fear, be much vigorous belief in the Bible left amongst us at the end of the present century. The root of the evil is in the college system above described. Sufficient time is not now devoted to the conjoint study of the Bible, as a whole, and if the undivided strength of each college, both tutors and students, were brought to bear on the critical, practical, and devotional reading of but one chapter a day, there seems reason to think that the students would go forth at the end of their course with a stronger passion for the study of the Word of God, and a profounder reverence for it, which would hold out the happiest augury for their future influence in the churches. The elaborate criticism of one or two epistles, or of one or two prophecies, chiefly received from the lips of one professor, is no adequate training in Biblical Exegesis; and there is, we submit, no need to wait for the amalgamation of the colleges for the introduction of so easy and fruitful a reform, or of some procedure analogous to it.

A NEW PHASE OF THE BURIALS QUESTION.

The following appeared in the *Daily News* of yesterday, with the heading, "Another Ecclesiastical Novelty":—

Yesterday an unusual occurrence took place in the cemetery of Kingston-on-Thames, when the Rev. C. Burney, incumbent of St. Mark's, Surbiton, conducted the funeral service at a burial in unconsecrated ground. Some of the deceased's family are Nonconformists, and he was attended in his last illness by a Nonconformist minister; but he having been a hearer of Mr. Burney's, that gentleman was asked to officiate at the burial, and at the same time told that the vault was in the unconsecrated portion of the cemetery. He expressed his willingness to comply with the request, and did so in the presence of a large number of persons. The service of the Church of England was followed throughout; a portion of it being conducted in the consecrated chapel and the remainder at the grave, as usual. It is understood that the reverend gentleman previously applied for, and obtained, the sanction of his diocesan, the Bishop of Winchester, for the step he was about to take.

It would appear from this occurrence that there are Established clergymen, as well as Dissenting ministers, who disapprove of the existing practice of rigidly confining the ministers of religion who may conduct funeral services to either consecrated or unconsecrated ground, according to their ecclesiastical positions. And it would further seem that the Bishop of Winchester, undeterred by the reproaches heaped upon him for his service in Glengarry Church, is not unwilling that his own clergy should overstep some of the old boundaries which have hitherto divided Episcopalians from the members of other ecclesiastical communities.

This incident raises some questions of considerable practical interest. For instance, it may be asked, of what utility is consecration, if the clergy can officiate without it? It involves expense, and—what is more important—it operates to disqualify all but the ministers of the Church of England for officiating in the ground consecrated. If there is nothing in it, religiously or ecclesiastically, why should it be continued, when this is one of its unfortunate results? Dissenters do not want consecration anywhere, and if the clergy and bishops do not require it, to meet their ecclesiastical scruples, why not abolish it?

Again, the Nonconformist ministers of Kingston will surely ask why, if the Episcopalian clergy are to have the use of the whole cemetery, consecrated or unconsecrated, they are not entitled to the same liberty? For they are occasionally placed in precisely analogous circumstances to those in which the incumbent of St. Mark's, Surbiton, has lately found himself; inasmuch as *their* hearers are at times necessarily buried in consecrated ground. And if there is to be license to officiate in the one case, why not in the other? Will the reply of the Established clergy virtually be, "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own"? Or will there be that reciprocity of right and privilege which comes out of a liberality springing from the largeness of a Christian heart, and not out of a seeming liberality assumed to cover the makeshifts of ecclesiastical expediency? We shall see.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

APPROACHING MEETINGS.—On Friday a conference is to be held at Liverpool, and, in addition to Mr. Carvell Williams, the Rev. H. Stowell Brown, Rev. S. Pearson, Dr. McLeod, Rev. A. Gordon, M.A., and Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, are to be present. A district conference will also be held in the Town Hall, Manchester, on Monday morning, November 6th. Mr. Sidebottom, president of the Manchester Branch, is to preside, and Mr. Illingworth, M.P., the Rev. Charles Williams, and the London Secretary, are to attend as a deputation. In the evening a public meeting is to be held under the presidency of Mr. Hugh Mason. Conferences are also about to be held in some of the towns in the midland counties. London is not to be forgotten in making these conference arrangements; it having been determined to hold a conference at the Cannon-street Hotel, on Monday evening, November 20, for the purpose of considering the kind of action best adapted to the metropolitan boroughs.

YOUNG MEN'S MEETINGS.—The Rochdale Young Men's Association held their annual meeting in the Milton Schoolrooms; Mr. J. Ashworth, vice-president, in the chair. Mr. T. Baird, the secretary, read an excellent report of the proceedings of the year, making special mention of the assistance rendered by the parent society; and the meeting was subsequently addressed by Mr. Councillor Hoyle, Mr. J. Petrie, jun., Mr. J. Kearley, of Manchester, and other friends. A Young Men's Conference is to be held at Oldham on the 16th November, and a series of meetings in the out-districts of the town has been decided on. The Manchester Young Men's Committee are making arrangements for a series of district meetings at which they propose to take up the various aspects of the Establishment question, and to invite public discussion in regard to them.

A VISIT TO IRELAND.—We think we are right in saying that the only visit paid to Ireland on behalf of the society from the year 1844 was that of the secretary, in the autumn of 1867, for the purpose of arranging for the memorable agitation which resulted in the abolition of the Irish Church, That, however, had no financial object in view; but lately the committee resolved to send the Rev. B. Nicholson, one of the society's agents, to see if those whom the society so substantially helped were willing to help it in return. Mr. N. has accordingly spent five weeks in the country; visiting the principal towns, both in the north and south, and seeing a large number of person. He has succeeded in adding a fair sum to the subscription list, and has both given and acquired much information. He has met with kindly treatment at the hands of both Roman Catholics and Protestants; but he reports that, while the former acknowledge their deep obligation to the society, its educational policy induces them to withhold their support. The Protestants, of course, took a different view. Even among intelligent people there was a good deal of ignorance and misconception respecting the society, which this visit has removed; while its old friends expressed great satisfaction at the beginning made in Ireland, and their belief that further efforts will be yet more successful. In some quarters there was expressed a strong opinion condemnatory of the lavish compensation give by the Irish Church Act, and of some of the acts of the commissioners. In Belfast the grasping of some of the ecclesiastics was described as scandalous.—*Liberator.*

SOUTH WALES.—Some time ago it was intimated that the South Wales agency would be divided into districts, and that the Rev. J. Jones, of Llanelly, had been appointed to the Western district. We are now able to state that the Eastern district agency—which includes Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, and Breconshire—has been accepted by Mr. T. Davies, of 13, South Luton-place, Cardiff, and that he will at once commence collecting the subscriptions which are in arrear; and arrange for some conferences and meetings which are about to be held. We bespeak for our new agent the best help our friends can give him. An agent for the Eastern part of North Wales has yet to be appointed.—*Ibid.*

CENTRAL NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE.

A meeting of this committee was held in Carr's-lane Vestry, Birmingham, on Friday last, Mr. Middlemore in the chair. The officers presented the following monthly report:—

Letters conveying the thanks of the committee have been forwarded to Mr. Miall and Mr. Dixon, for their efforts to bring the Endowed Schools question before Parliament. The following reply has been received from Mr. Dixon:—

47, Broad-street, Birmingham, Sept. 20, 1871.

Dear Sirs,—I have received with much satisfaction your letter of the 18th instant, conveying to me the cordial thanks of the Central Nonconformist Committee for my efforts to secure a manifestation of opinion in Parliament against the clauses introduced into most of the new schemes for the government of endowed schools, providing that clergymen shall be *ex-officio* members of the governing body.

It is always a source of gratification to me to receive the approval of my constituents and fellow-townsmen on my Parliamentary action, and the pleasure is enhanced in the present instance by the courteous and earnest manner in which you have conveyed to me your and the

committee's appreciation of my conduct.—I am, dear Sirs, yours faithfully, GEORGE DIXON.

Messrs. R. W. Dale, M.A., and Hy. W. Crosskey.

Letters have also been forwarded to the members of the Portsmouth, Southampton, and Walsall School Boards, who resisted the pressure of the Education Department to induce them to change their decision with respect to the payment of fees. In several replies which have been received, the writers state that the consciousness that their conduct is being watched by others at a distance interested in the principles at issue, will strengthen them in the future discharge of their duties. As since the committee last met the Wednesbury Board have been subjected to, and resisted, similar pressure from the department, letters have been forwarded to the members of that board also.

The following letter has been received from Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a letter addressed to him by the officers, inquiring if the recent policy of the Education Department with respect to the payment of fees was in harmony with the intentions of the Government :—

10, Downing-street, Whitehall,
25th September, 1871.

Gentlemen,—Mr. Gladstone desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 9th, and to inform you that he has not failed to transmit your communication to Mr. Forster, whose receipt thereof he has just learned.—I have the honour to remain, your obedient servant,

W. B. GURDON.

The Honorary Secretaries of the Central Nonconformist Committee.

Mr. Gladstone refers to Mr. Forster. Mr. Forster has since then spoken at Manchester ; and it is now beyond question that the policy of the department is the policy of the Government.

Mr. Crosskey and the secretary attended a meeting of the Executive of the Manchester Committee on Sept. 28, to discuss the question of the Nonconformist Conference. It was decided to hold it on December 12th, 13th, and 14. The terms in which the conferenee should be summoned, and the subjects to be discussed, were also agreed upon. The arrangements for the conference, so far as they are completed, are as follows :—

Tuesday Evening.—Meeting in Free Trade Hall.

Wednesday Morning, 10.30 a.m.—Chairman's address ; Universities, Professor A. S. Wilkins ; Endowed Schools, Professor Sheldon Amos.

Wednesday Evening, 6.30 p.m.—Grants in Aid, Rev. C. Williams (Accrington) ; Payment of Fees, Rev. H. W. Croskey.

Thursday Morning, 10.30 a.m.—Political Relations of Nonconformists to the Liberal Party, Political Organisation of Nonconformists, Mr. Jos. Chamberlain.

Thursday Evening.—Resolutions on Burials Bill, Marriages, and Mr. Miall's Motion.

It is proposed by the Manchester Committee that the conference shall be presided over by chairmen selected by the committees of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham.

Since the last meeting the investigation of the schemes proposed by the Endowed Schools Commissioners has been vigorously pursued. As soon as it is completed an analysis of the facts will be published. The principles upon which the schemes are framed and the details of the schemes appear to reveal a settled purpose on the part of the Commissioners to promote the special interests of the Established Church. The clerical influence imported into the governing bodies is excessive. In thirty-six out of forty schemes the vicar is appointed an *ex-officio* governor ; there are also many clergymen among the "co-optative" governors. The co-optative governors named in the various schemes moreover are overwhelmingly Church and Conservative. Nearly every scheme has some special provision revealing a strong ecclesiastical bias. The officers are glad to report that vigorous opposition is being manifested to various schemes at Wolverhampton, Walsall, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Felstead, Brentwood, Chelmsford, Martock, Gillingham, Colchester, and other towns. Representatives have also been appointed from many places to join the deputation to the commissioners which the Central Nonconformist Committee propose to organise.

As it was stated in the *Daily Post*, on the authority of a correspondent connected with the Endowed Schools Commission, that the clerical *ex-officios* would all be withdrawn, a legal opinion having been pronounced against them, the following letter was addressed to Mr. H. J. Roby, the secretary of the Commissioners :—

Central Nonconformist Committee, Town Hall Chambers, 86, New-street, Birmingham,
Sept. 23, 1871.

Sir,—The enclosed paragraph appeared in the *Daily Post* of Monday, Sept. 18th. It professed to be authoritative. May I, on behalf of the committee, venture to ask (1) whether the Commissioners have publicly and formally declared their intention to withdraw the clause providing for *ex-officio* clerical governors in schemes which have not already received the sanction of Parliament, and (2) whether these clauses which are alleged to be in contravention of the Act will remain in those schemes which have already passed.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, R. W. DALE.

H. J. Roby, Esq.

The following reply has been received :—

Endowed Schools Commission, 2, Victoria-street, S.W.,
25th September, 1871.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with an inclosure, of the 23rd instant, and to inform you that the matter will receive attention when the commissioners resume their meetings for business, which will not be till the month of October has begun. —I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

H. J. ROBY, Secretary.

R. W. Dale, Esq., M.A., 86, New-street, Birmingham.

During the last month a powerful committee has been formed at Devonport and at Merthyr, where the Nonconformists were completely demoralised at the school board election, and a complete reorganisation of the party is taking place, which has been greatly stimulated by the determination of the school board to pay fees.

Arrangements have been made for the following lectures in the Town-hall :—On Friday, November 24th, "The Politics of Nonconformity," by Mr. Dale ; on Tuesday, December 19th, "Church Property—whose is it?" by the Rev. Marmaduke Miller, of Huddersfield.

A meeting will be held in St. George's Hall, Bradford, on the 28th of November, to discuss the various aspects of the education question. The hon. secretaries will attend as a deputation.

It was resolved that Mr. W. Middlemore should be appointed chairman of the Manchester Conference on behalf of this committee.

The following gentlemen were selected as a deputation to the conference .—The Chairman, Secretaries, Mr. George Dawson, Mr. J. S. Wright, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mr. Follett Osler, Mr. Timothy Kenrick, Mr. J. A. Partridge, Mr. T. J. Moore, Mr. J. A. Cooper, the Rev. John Bond, Mr. Henry Payton, Mr. Charles Vince, Mr. Councillor Collings, Mr. Councillor Baker, Mr. Alderman Holland, and Mr. Councillor R. C. Barrow.

It was also resolved that a letter should be sent to every Nonconformist minister in the town, requesting that delegates should be appointed from each congregation.

It was resolved that the annual meeting of the committee should be postponed until after the conference.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES AND EDUCATION.

The pastoral of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops was publicly read on Sunday in the Cathedral, Marlborough-street, in presence of Cardinal Cullen. The pastoral treated solely of the education question, upon which the prelates deemed it their duty to advise and instruct the people. The Catholic people were deeply involved in the question of the education of their children ; and while the greatest efforts were being made everywhere throughout Christendom to banish religion from the school, it was incumbent on them to use renewed vigour and to listen with more than usual attention to what the prelates said. The urgency of the question was manifest. The English statesman who held the reins of Government at present had frequently admitted that their branch of the State in Ireland was in an unsatisfactory condition, and had expressed his desire to deal with the matter. The opponents of the Church were endeavouring to force on them a system of education to which they objected. It would be the duty of every one to assert his constitutional right. The Queen's College system had been condemned by Pius IX. in the years 1847 and 1848 as unsuitable for the people of this country. Unfortunately in all the attempts that had been made to settle this question in the interests of those concerned the wishes of the guardians of the faith were not listened to or observed. The pastoral added that parents should examine well into this matter, for they would have to answer with their souls for the education of their children.

The Dublin correspondent of the *Echo* writes :—"Rumour has it that certain powerful Irish peers and members of Parliament have acted the go-betweens, and on the part of the Premier have told the Cardinal that unless an ecclesiastical manifesto in great force were put forth, especially touching on the political consequences in case of refusal, he could not say with truth that the clergy and the people of Ireland were in earnest on the matter, and so would not be able to get his colleagues, much less the majority of his party, on to the side of the Irish prelates. Now it is said that he has a majority in the Cabinet on the question, and that the recalcitrants are, the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Stansfeld. I believe, from all I hear, that such impression is well grounded, and that if the Irish Education Bill is postponed for another year, the bishops will, one and all, declare themselves Home Rule men."

A NEW FIELD FOR CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

We have been favoured with the following interesting extract from a letter dated Oct. 15, written by the Rev. T. Waldmerir, of the British Syrian schools at Beirut (Beyrout), to Stafford Allen, Esq., of Stoke Newington :—

"Two years ago, it happened that the King Menelek, of Schoa (Southern Abyssinia), wrote a letter to Saalmuller and to myself, in which he said that he would be exceedingly glad if we would come to him to Schoa to take the direction of the arithmetical work there, for which he would give us great reward.

"In reply I told the King that I was not inclined to have to do anything in worldly work, as my only business is to proclaim the Gospel of Christ. But I proposed to the King, in the meantime, that if, with his permission a Protestant mission among the heathen Gallas were allowed to enter his dominions, I should feel inclined to come to him with some good Christian artisans who would work for him, but I would preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Gallas tribes of his dominion.

"Towards the end of September last I received an answer from the King of Schoa, of which I give you a literal translation, as it was written in Amharic :—

In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the King of kings, Lord of lords, the only true light which will never be extinguished, the only King who lives for ever and ever, to Him belongeth honour and glory and power for ever, amen. This letter is sent from the King Menelek, of Ethiopia, to Mr. Waldmerir. How are you? I am, thank God, quite well ; my people and my kingdom prosper, through the mercy of God. I received your letter, which caused me great pleasure. I will hear and accept your counsel, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ should be preached to the heathen nations, and I will never hinder nor prevent you from proclaiming the Gospel. Two points in your letter especially gladden my heart. The first is that the Gospel of Christ should be preached to the heathen Gallas tribes, and the second is that when you come you will bring me some good artisans, who will work for me. Now, come quickly. I gave you permission to preach the Gospel among the heathen, that they may be enlightened ; and bring those men and bring me instruments for the work. I have sent you for your journey 1,000 dols. ; receive it from Messrs. Bender and Mayer, in Adua or in Tigree. Please send me word when and where you will come, that I may receive you. I send you two copies of this letter, one by Tatschurra, and the other by Adua and Massau. When you come, come by the coast of Tatschurra. I have prepared the road : do not be afraid.

Written in Schoa, in the city Bonisari, May 15, 1871.

"The kingdom of Schoa is an independent Christian kingdom from Abyssinia ; it is surrounded by heathen and Mahometan Gallas. Christian people have looked long ago to that large and interesting mission-field, but the missionaries could not get permission to enter and to establish a mission there. But now there is an opening there, and 'Ethiopia begins to stretch out its hand towards the Lord.' There is now an open door to many millions of Gallas, who have never heard the blessed Gospel. Let us, therefore, pray that the Lord may raise up many Christian friends for this mission. It is not yet known what society will take it up. The Lord will provide : let us trust in Him. I think it will be good if these few lines can be published in England, so that the Holy Spirit may move some hearts for the poor Gallas. Before I go to Schoa I hope to see you in England."

WESLEYANS AND THE CHURCH.—A Church Conference for the diocese of Ely was held at Bedford on Thursday, when the bishop of the diocese expressed a desire that some means could be found for the Wesleyans to return to the Church. The Church would thus gain a missionary agency which it required, and the Wesleyans would gain by having the steadiness and stability of the Church system. Mr. James Howard, M.P., said that if the Wesleyans were absorbed into the Church, the result would be a great accession of spiritual life to the latter ; but there were practical difficulties in the way of such absorption. The Methodist Conference was free to appoint any of its members to negotiate with the Church, but the Church had no executive assembly or body which could depute anybody to confer with the Methodist Conference. The bishop said he did not see why the Church could not act, either through Convocation or some other way, in reference to the incorporation of the Wesleyans. In each diocese the bishop would be able to confer with the Wesleyans, but he feared that anything like corporate union between the different bodies of Christians could not be expected to be brought about very soon.

NONCONFORMISTS AND CAMBRIDGE FELLOWSHIPS.—We have to-day to record the first substantial fruits of the University Tests Abolition Act. Two Nonconformists have been elected Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. On Thursday last Dr. Michael Foster—not originally a member of Trinity, for he took his degrees in the London University—was chosen Fellow of Trinity *Honoris Causâ*, having for some time held the office of Prælector in Physiology. The *Cambridge Independent Press* says :—"To be or to have been a Fellow of Trinity has always carried with it a high reputation as a scholar, even under the restrictive influence of tests, but now that honour will be more keenly contested, and will convey a still more universal idea of accomplished and brilliant scholarship. The election of Dr. Michael Foster is not only a single acknowledgment of great ability, but a happy commencement of a new state of things, which will raise Cambridge, as a University, to more distinguished reputation in Europe than it has hitherto possessed." Dr. John Hopkinson, the senior wrangler of this year, has also received a like honour. No doubt other colleges will hasten to follow the example so well set by Trinity, and Cambridge will become, not in name only, but in deed also, a national University.—*English Independent.*

THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—The *Record* gives a long account of a Church Association Conference at Cheltenham. The proceedings commenced on Wednesday evening with an early celebration of Holy Communion in the parish church. Papers were read by Canon Bardsley, on the necessity of a real revival of spiritual religion in the Evangelical body ; and Mr. C. H. Lovell followed with one on the duty of the members of the Church in regard to the Purchas judgment. Dr. Jardine, Mr. Cornwall, and Mr. Andrews joined in the discussion, the result of which our contemporary thus summarises :—"On the whole, the decided feeling of the conference was that now that the law had been clearly declared in reference to disputed points, the bishops must, if they would save the Church as an established Church, come promptly and boldly forward and en-

force it." In the afternoon the Rev. Dr. Taylor read a paper as to the best means of ensuring the co-operation of the working classes. Canons Auriol and Bardsley, Mr. Squires, and the Rev. C. H. Davis joined in the discussion. In the evening the Rev. C. D. Marston preached in a temporary parish church to a congregation of more than 12,000 people. On Thursday Prebendary Kemble opened a discussion as to how far it was right to co-operate with Rationalists and Ritualists. Dr. Boultbee read a paper on the alleged falsification of history by the Ritualists, especially attacking Dr. Littledale—styled by Dr. Walker "a poor plagiarist." The practical conclusion seemed to be that the young should be well grounded in the history of the Reformation. The importance of union and organisation among evangelical men was the subject of the last session, the Rev. Edward Garbett reading the first paper. The Bishop of Sydney took part in the proceedings. The *Record* thus concludes its account:—

On the review of the whole conference, we cannot but thank God for its successful issue. They reckon without their host who say that Evangelicalism is effete, dying, or dead. No! far otherwise, as Mr. Garbett proved: it has truth, numbers, talent, zeal, and life on its side; it wants but one thing to make it invincible, and that one thing is *organised union*. The Cheltenham Conference will have largely contributed to that end.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. William Clarkson, B.A., of Market Harborough, has tendered his resignation of his present post, having received and accepted an invitation to the pastorate of the Independent Church at Salisbury.

Mr. Edward Walker, of New College, London, has accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Independant Church at Andover, Hants, and will commence his pastoral duties on Sunday, November 12th.

The Rev. F. W. Brown, of Oldland Common, has rescinded his acceptance of the pastorate of Wells Congregational Church; having, since his acceptance of the same, been required to sign a trust-deed containing doctrinal clauses to which he could not conscientiously subscribe.

SURBITON.—The Congregationalists of this place have celebrated the fourth anniversary of the opening of their new church by commencing an effort to extinguish the debt incurred in its erection. At a meeting held last Thursday, after addresses had been delivered by the Rev. W. Jones, the new minister, Messrs. G. F. Dickinson, Carvell Williams, Bidgood, Wales, and Killick, promises to the amount of about 1,000*l.* were handed in, and the belief was expressed, that, with some help from without, the remaining 550*l.* might be shortly cleared off, and the congregation be thereby enabled to engage in new work for the good of the neighbourhood and the county.

BOCKING, ESSEX.—The Independent church at Bocking, of which the late venerable Thomas Craig was the pastor for sixty-two years, expended 1,200*l.* in new schoolrooms upon the occasion of his jubilee in 1852, and have since then devoted 1,650*l.* to the renovation of their sanctuary. apart from 250*l.* paid for an organ. The reopening services were held on Tuesday week. The Rev. J. C. Harrison preached in the morning. In the afternoon there was a dinner in the schoolroom, at which the speakers praised the alterations highly. Of the whole cost, as stated above, only 480*l.* now remains to be paid, and this sum is, as Mr. William Brown, one of the deacons, told the meeting, likely to be cleared off in a few months. The Rev. Baldwin Brown preached in the evening. The Rev. A. Goodrich is now the pastor of this place of worship.

LIVERPOOL.—On Friday week, the new Toxteth Tabernacle in the Park-road was opened. The building, which is in the Italian style of architecture, is seventy-nine feet long, sixty-six feet broad, and thirty-seven feet high to the centre of the roof, fitted with galleries, and arranged to accommodate about 1,300 people. The tabernacle, with the land, will cost about 7,000*l.*, of which 6,000*l.* has already been subscribed. The tabernacle will be perfectly free and unappropriated. Mr. W. P. Lockhart, who acts as pastor, is well known on 'Change, and is actively engaged in business, but devotes his leisure time to improve the social and religious well-being of the poorer classes of Liverpool, and with what results will best be seen by the following list of agencies in operation:—A church has been formed, which now includes 130 members; the Sunday-school is attended by 350 children; a large temperance work is being carried on; a Bible woman is employed in visiting the neighbourhood; and there are mothers' meetings, a provident society, tract distributions, cottage and open-air services, and various other forms of aggressive service. In these labours Mr. Lockhart is assisted by an energetic band of co-workers, who, like himself, work without fee or reward. During the course of the proceedings on Friday evening, when the Rev. C. M. Birrell preached the inauguration sermon, Mr. Lockhart made a statement of the present financial position of the church.

CONGREGATIONAL MEMORIAL HALL.—A meeting of subscribers to the Memorial Hall Fund was held at Swansea, to receive a report from the committee, examine plans and drawings which had been sent down for exhibition during the meetings of the Congregational Union, and take what steps might be necessary to carry the scheme into effect. Edward Grimwade, Esq., of Ipswich, was called to the chair. The secretary, Rev. J. H. Wilson, read a report from the committee to the effect that after many difficulties a site had been obtained in Farringdon-street, which had met with general approval; that the architect had prepared plans which had been carefully considered by the committee and approved; but that it was felt to be desirable, before finally deciding on them, to send them to Swansea during the meetings of the Congregational Union there, that they might be seen and examined by the subscribers and friends before proceeding to carry them out. The financial statement showed that after paying for the freehold site and making allowance for the deficiency which would arise from the delay which had occurred in collecting subscriptions which had been promised but not paid, the committee could reckon on from 25,000*l.* to 27,000*l.* towards the expense of the new hall and offices. Mr. Tarring, the architect, having explained the drawings, a free conversation took place, and the Rev. Dr. Morton Brown moved, and the Rev. W. Cuthbertson, of Bishop Stortford, seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting approves of the report now read, and of the purchase of the freehold piece of land in Farringdon-street for 28,000*l.*; and requests the committee to proceed with the erection of the hall and other buildings at as early a date as possible; and it also requests the treasurer, Mr. John Remington Mills, in whose name the purchase has been made, to convey the property to such trustees and upon such trusts as the committee shall direct."—*English Independent.*

BATTERSEA NEW CHAPEL.—At the close of a very interesting service held in this place of worship on Sunday evening, 22nd inst., the minister communicated to the congregation their united efforts on behalf of the building fund, and chiefly since they had occupied their new chapel. The accounts had been made up to September 30, and were as follows:—By collecting cards, 39*l.* 6s. 6d.; by special collections after opening services, 122*l.* 13s.; by weekly offerings in boxes at the door, 146*l.* 8s. 9d.; by pew-rents, 212*l.* 11s. 6d.—total, 520*l.* 19s. 9d. There had been during the nine months they had worshipped in their new house, other collections also, for other objects, missions, schools, and sacramental gatherings, amounting to 61*l.* 12s. 2d. This was over and above 1,161*l.* 9s. 6d. donations, and sale of old chapel. The day-school accounts for the year had been made up to the same date, and he was happy to say, that the income of both the schools had been within a very few pounds equal to the expenditure, 392*l.* 19s. 3d. The Rev. J. M. Soule begged, however, to remind the congregation that there was yet an indebtedness of over 3,000*l.* to be met. He hoped, if his life and health were spared, to be able, by means of pew-rents, to clear off one-third of this sum, and he had no doubt the remaining two-thirds would be raised by the time he had paid his share. The whole congregation rose and most heartily sang, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow, &c.," and were dismissed with the benediction.

Correspondence.

THE LAND QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—As a vice-president of the Land Tenure Reform Association, I shall be greatly obliged to you to publish the following letter I have received from Mr. Stuart Mill. If an estate was bought with public money, and a strict account kept of profit and loss, it would settle the question as to nationalising the land.

Yours, &c.,
CHRISTOPHER NEVILE.

Athenæum, Oct. 25, 1870.

Avignon, Oct. 17, 1871.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for sending me your letters on Land, published in the *Nonconformist*. All that you say in them deserves to be well weighed, and no doubt will find its proper place in the progress of discussion. It would be contrary to the programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association to take up the nationalisation of the land. I should be as much opposed to its doing so as you are, even if I were personally in favour of nationalisation, which I am not, for the very reason you give, because I do not believe it would be successful as a measure of finance. I should very much like to see a trial of the experiment on the scale you propose, by the laying out of 100,000*l.* or a million of public money in the purchase of land, a strict account being kept. Whatever the result might be, the experiment could not fail to be instructive.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,
J. S. MILL.

Christopher Nevile, Esq., Thorney, Newark.

While Mr. Gladstone was at Greenwich on Saturday a numerously signed memorial was presented to him, expressing regret that circumstances had led to the withdrawal of the Licensing Bill, and a hope that no unnecessary delay would be incurred in vigorously presenting a measure for dealing with the evils arising from the liquor traffic.

Mr. Stansfeld was present at a meeting of the Halifax Board of Guardians on Thursday. He held out a hope that amongst the measures for next session there would be some affecting the present system of local administration, and for carrying out sanitary reforms, and trusted that such questions might be dealt with independently of party considerations.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

This board held a public meeting on Wednesday in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall; Lord Lawrence presiding. All the spaces open to the public were crowded by persons anxious to hear the expected debates on points now attracting public interest.

THE NONCONFORMIST DEPUTATION.

The first proceeding was the reception of a deputation appointed by a meeting which had been held some little time ago, at the Cannon-street Hotel, to present a memorial against the payment of fees in denominational schools. The members of the deputation, headed by Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P., consisted of Messrs. James Spicer, Jas. Heywood, Henry Wright, H. R. Ellington, A. Preston, P. W. Clayden, Jno. Bennett, and T. C. Turberville; Rev. Dr. Raleigh, Rev. Dr. Brock, Rev. Dr. Edmond, and the Rev. J. G. Rogers. It was introduced by the Rev. J. Allanson Picton, and Mr. William Green, members of the board. The memorial, which was published *in extenso* in our columns three weeks ago, and had been circulated among the members of the board, was taken as read.

Mr. GILPIN, M.P., said he appeared there as a ratepayer, as a constituent of at least six members of the board, and also as chairman of the meeting in Cannon-street, which was one of the most enthusiastic meetings he had ever attended, and in which very strong feelings were expressed in favour of the object of the memorial. He knew that the subject was one of widely extended interest, and he had to ask on behalf of that meeting and of the thousands whom it represented, that the board would in its wisdom see fit not to adopt, and not to act upon, the undoubtedly permissive clause of the Education Act of last year. He would respectfully urge the board not to act upon that clause in such a manner as to introduce, instead of cordial co-operation in the work of education, difference of feeling, of sentiment, and of principle, which, whatever else it did, would create heart-burnings, and tend to prevent that energy and that unanimity which were essential to success. The gentlemen with whom he had the honour to be associated on that occasion were representative men. They were not men who came into the education field yesterday; they were men who laboured in the cause long before the Government felt it their duty to care educationally for the hundreds of thousands of immortal beings who were playing about the streets; they were not men who wished to introduce an element of bitterness or any other obstacle in the way of education; but they were far-seeing men, hard-working men, conscientious men, and above all, representative men; and they were of opinion that if the clauses to which he had alluded were acted upon in the manner that they deprecated they would do an incalculable amount of injury. It might be supposed that he overrated the importance of that question; but since he took the chair at the meeting he had visited many counties, and he believed there was no considerable town in the country where a strong feeling did not exist. He earnestly hoped that in carrying on the work to which it had devoted itself so generously and so ably, the board would avoid splitting upon the rock which lay in its path, and which would very materially interfere with its usefulness. In conclusion, the hon. gentleman said the deputation were prepared to answer any question that might be put to them, and that he hoped serious consideration would be given to the views expressed in the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN assured the deputation that the words of the memorial and the arguments of the speaker would be taken into full consideration. He reminded the deputation that the subject had been before the board; but had been delayed until now that the members might have time for full deliberation. Whatever conclusion was now arrived at would only be after full and earnest consideration.

Mr. HEPWORTH DIXON having inquired in what sense Mr. Gilpin meant to say that the deputation had a representative character, Mr. GILPIN replied that what he meant was that those who took part in the proceedings were either ministers of churches or men of large business connections, such as his friend behind him (Mr. Spicer), and possessing large personal influence in the City.

The deputation then withdrew.

WORKING MEN'S MEMORIAL.

Mr. LUCRAFT and Mr. T. CHATFEILD CLARKE introduced a deputation of working men, headed by Mr. Cremer, with a similar memorial to the preceding one, and signed by 8,000 persons. This document, not having been printed, was read, and included the following six reasons against the payments objected to:—

1. Because it is a form of concurrent endowment, a principle which the nation has very recently emphatically condemned. 2. Because the Legislature has already provided for the payment of half the cost of existing denominational schools from public moneys; and were the proposed bye-law to be enacted, the result would be that nearly the whole, and in some cases the whole, cost of these schools would, provided without voluntary effort. 3. Because it would be unequal in its

working, giving great advantages to two or three sects which the others could not obtain if they could, and would not if they could. 4. Because it would tend to perpetuate and embitter the strife of religious parties, and would fill the minds of many of your constituents with a lasting sense of injury. 5. Because it would bring into the great work of education an element of perpetual discord, so that the cost of education, which otherwise would have been paid willingly, will be paid reluctantly and grudgingly. 6. Because as trustees of public funds, you would grant money to institutions over which you have no control. For these reasons (said the memorial in conclusion) we respectfully but earnestly request that you will furnish facilities for obtaining free education by the other means provided in the Act, viz., by the remission of school fees in certain cases in the schools under the control of the board, and by the erection of such free schools as may be deemed necessary; and that you will determine under no circumstances to pay school fees in denominational schools.

Mr. CREMER said that deputation emanated from the London Working Men's Auxiliary of the National Education League, a body which was formed about eighteen months ago, and which had held the largest demonstration of the working classes on the question of national education that had ever been seen in the United Kingdom; he alluded to the meeting at Exeter Hall, which was presided over by Mr. Spurgeon, and was addressed exclusively by working men. That meeting gave them a right to speak in the name of the working classes. The opinion of the working classes was then and there expressed in favour of free, unsectarian, and compulsory education. As there appeared now to be a tendency on the part of the representatives of the people to depart in some degree from the unsectarian platform, it had been thought desirable that there should be another expression of opinion on behalf of the working classes on that question, and that was contained in the memorial which then lay on the table, and which he believed reflected the feeling of the working classes generally. The question of unsectarian education was the great bone of contention which had so long retarded the progress of national education in this country, and it was because they feared an unfortunate element might be introduced into the new system, and deprive the people of that education which they had so long desired, and were so well entitled to, that the deputation that day appeared before the board.

The CHAIRMAN assured the deputation that the memorial would be duly considered by the members of the board, who all felt that the subject was one of very grave importance to the population of this country.

Mr. LAFONE wished to ask Mr. Cremer what he meant by "free education," whether he meant that there should be a total remission of fees, and that children should be educated at the expense of the State. Professor HUXLEY objected to the question as not being pertinent to the object of the memorial, which was that the board should not consent to pay fees in denominational schools. Dr. BARRY observed that the memorial ought, then, to have been confined to that point. Mr. CREMER said the committee whom the deputation represented believed that it would be very pernicious to compel one portion of the community to pay school fees, and to remit fees in favour of another portion. They objected to that on the ground that it would tend to create social distinctions at an early period of life, and cause the children of parents who paid to point the finger of scorn at the children of parents who did not pay. It was because they deprecated such distinctions that they wished to see education perfectly free. In reply to a question from the Rev. Mr. Waugh, Mr. CREMER said he believed the great majority of the working classes would prefer the question of compulsion being allowed to stand over until that of the payment of fees in denominational schools had been decided. But there was a division of opinion among them on that point. In reply to a question from Mr. Kiell, Mr. CREMER said it appeared to him that where a district was adequately provided with school accommodation there was no necessity for resorting to rates.

The deputation then withdrew.

FREE SCHOOLS.

On a second part of the Works Committee's report, recommending that certain schools should be taken over for a year, being proposed for adoption, the Rev. Dr. BARRY made a vigorous protest against establishing the principle of taking free schools without the subject being clearly debated by the board. He pointed out that the board might be committed to the adoption of the free school principle by taking over some of those schools in which no fees were paid.

The question was spoken to by Sir Thomas Tilson, Lord Sandon, M.P., Mr. Tabrum, and other members, and the subject was dropped on Mr. REED, M.P., giving a pledge, on the part of the Works Committee, that the board should not be committed to any such principle.

The report was adopted.

THE BYE-LAWS.—COMPULSION AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Attention was then turned to the long-delayed subject of the bye-laws and regulations of the board, brought forward in June last, and left over from that time until this day. As it was generally felt that the debate upon the points to be discussed would be long, the subject of the time to be taken was first considered, and some of the members were for exceedingly long hours. It was, however, at length agreed that the board should rise at six o'clock, and sit every day at the ordinary time from three until six.

The Rev. JOHN RODGERS, chairman of the committee appointed to frame the proposed bye-laws and regulations of the board, then introduced the subject by moving that each bye-law be taken *seriatim*. He reminded the board that the bye-laws, when once made, approved by the Education Department, and signed by the Queen in Council, would be unalterable, and would, therefore, have to be considered with due deliberation. The regulations were in the hands of the board, and could be altered.

Mr. LUCRAFT seconded the motion.

Mr. S. MORLEY, M.P., moved the amendment of which he gave notice at the last meeting, that bye-law No. 8 (that having relation to the payment of fees in denominational schools) be taken first. He maintained that the views of members regarding some of the bye-laws which came before No. 8 would be materially affected by the decision arrived at in this case, and therefore it should come first.

Professor HUXLEY seconded the motion, and said he could not consent to pass No. 2 bye-law (that having relation to the exercise of compulsory power) until he had seen what was done with No. 8, for he would not be a party to allowing the state to sweep the children into denominational schools.

Mr. TABRUM supported Mr. Morley's amendment, while the Rev. Dr. RIGG held that No. 2 should be taken first.

Mr. LUCRAFT maintained that the bye-laws should be discussed in the order in which they stood, and the very reasons advanced for No. 8 being taken first were the reasons why the order in which they stood should not be departed from, for it was evident that in accordance with the adoption or non-adoption of some other principle would some members agree to or oppose compulsory education. There had been a struggle for fifty years to obtain education, and he, being desirous of seeing the lower strata of his class educated—an end which he was well assured could not be gained without compulsion—would not have that principle hazarded by No. 8 being taken first.

The discussion was continued by the Rev. J. A. PICTON and the Rev. Canon CROMWELL.

Dr. ANGUS reminded the board that by a special resolution it had already adopted the principle of compulsion, and that it only now rested with it to make the limitations and regulations under which the principle should be carried out.

A division was then taken on the amendment, which was rejected, there being for it twenty-four and against it twenty-five.

The first bye-law was then proposed. This has four clauses, and is wholly explanatory of terms. There was some demur to the cry of "Agreed," and and it was then put, clause by clause, without opposition.

The Rev. J. RODGERS (Finsbury) then moved No. 2:—

> The parent of every child of not less than five years, nor more than thirteen years of age, is required to cause such child to attend school, unless there be some reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

This, he said, involved the great principle of the bye-laws, viz., the principle of compulsion. Although the board was committed to compulsion, he thought there was a tendency in the minds of some members to back out of the principle. He was as strongly as any man could be in favour of compulsion, but he did not like it, nor the circumstances which rendered it necessary. But unfortunately there were such circumstances, and compulsion was therefore absolutely essential, and whatever might be the decision of the board on bye-law No. 8, it should be adopted at once. The school board in Stockport received in July their bye-laws from the Government, and up to this time they had issued 407 notices on parents who were neglecting the education of their children. The result was that in February last the average attendance in the Stockport schools was 3,980, while under the operation of the bye-law it had risen to 5,000, while the number on the books had risen to 5,570 to 7,675. In addition to this strong argument in favour of a compulsory bye-law, he might mention some facts concerning Finsbury. In that borough there were 81,000 children of school age of all classes, and of that number 13,656 children belonged to the class with which the board had nothing to do, being able to pay over ninepence a week. This left 68,000 children that the board wished to see going to school, and of that number 46,640 were already said to be going to school, leaving a balance of 21,500 that did not attend school. Excuses were made for 6,651 children, who were alleged to be too young, and 1,900 sick or disabled. It came, therefore, to this—that there were 13,000 children running about Finsbury, not going to school, of the age to go to school, and without any legitimate excuse for not going. The actual attendance in Finsbury, however, was 33,000; so that there were 26,000 children to be looked after. Multiply this total by ten, and the board would have some idea of the work to be done in the entire metropolis. It was a significant fact that, after all the efforts of the board, there were 26,000 children wandering about Finsbury who would not be educated unless the board had the power to compel them. He, therefore, urged the board to pass the resolution without any alteration.

Mr. LUCRAFT (Finsbury) seconded the motion.

The Rev. J. A. PICTON (Hackney) moved that the word "five" be struck out, in order to substitute the word "seven." He was anxious that the compulsory law should be a binding law, but, if it were made a bugbear which nobody would care about, as soon as that was discovered he thought the usefulness of the law would be impaired. If it was to be a practical law it must be an equal law and must refer to all classes of society. Mr. Rodgers had mentioned 13,656 children in Finsbury with whom the board, he said, had nothing to do. He demurred to this, because, although the board had nothing to do with paying for the education of those children, it would still be their duty, under a compulsory law, to see that they were attending school, and the law in this respect would apply to the upper as well of the lower classes. He would maintain that that there was a large number of people by no means convinced that children ought to be taught anything at five years of age, when their constitutions were by no means settled; it would, therefore, be dangerous to go against the feeling of a large number of people in this respect, and, if exceptions were allowed, they would be so numerous that the law would be of no effect. In Hackney he knew as a fact that the statistics showed that there was a considerable number of excuses given with reference to children of five years of age being too young to go to school. Could they allow excuses in such cases as those? If so, the law would break down at once. He argued, therefore, that it would better to alter the ago to seven.

Sir THOMAS TILSON (Lambeth) seconded the amendment.

Professor HUXLEY (Marylebone) said that if proper infant schools were provided, they might be certain that they would be thronged in all cases where it was deemed proper that children should enter them, as nothing was more opposed to the spirit of the Act than that they should use compulsion where inducement would do. That was a strong reason for not enforcing compulsion where they could be quite certain of doing without it as much as could be done with it.

The Rev. Dr. RIGG (Westminster) was glad to find that some who had been in favour of direct compulsion were now in favour of adopting an indirect method of compulsion in that way; but he did not suppose that the board would at all adopt the view that had been so advocated, because they were already committed to the principle of direct and universal compulsion, and it was upon that understanding that he had himself helped the committee, so far as he could, to frame the mode of application which they had now inserted in the bye-laws, and he was afraid it was too late to go back. (No, no.) If they were to have direct compulsion, there was no argument against applying it between the ages of five and seven, and if it was thought injurious to the constitution of some of the children, or if there was provision made at their own homes, those would be reasonable excuses for non-attendance.

The discussion was continued by Canon CROMWELL, who was in favour of the limits of six and twelve years of age; by Lord SANDON, by Mr. LUCRAFT, who argued that many parents could not afford to keep their children at school after twelve years of age; by Dr. Barry, the Rev. B. Waugh, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, and Alderman Cotton.

Mr. BUXTON (Tower Hamlets) reminded the board that it was proved from the educational statistics that almost the whole of the children between five and seven were at school, and in the column which was devoted to excuses it was often found that the children between three and four were excused as too young, but hardly ever above the age of four was that excuse given. A great deal of evidence was given before the committee, the opinion of the witnesses being that the two years between the ages of five and seven were the most important of all. He hoped, therefore, the decision of the committee, as embodied in the resolution, would be supported.

Mr. MACGREGOR (Greenwich) thought it would be an extremely difficult thing to compel children of five years of age to attend school.

The Rev. W. ROGERS urged that it could be no possible hardship to compel children of five years of age to go to school.

The amendment was put to the vote, and lost by a majority of 34 to 11; and an amendment by Canon CROMWELL, proposing that the limits be six and twelve years, was rejected by 31 to 14.

The Rev. B. WAUGH (Greenwich) then moved, as an amendment, that the following words be inserted at the end of the bye-law:—

> When, and as soon as it shall be certified by the Education Department that suitable and efficient school accommodation has been provided in the district of the board, the parents of every child, of not less than five years nor more than thirteen years of age shall be required to cause such child to attend school, unless there be some reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

He wished to speak as a matter of fact as to the impossibility of carrying out the bye-law at present at Greenwich. The school district of Greenwich contained 6,564 children of school age between three and thirteen. Its present school accommodation was returned at 3,634, leaving a deficiency of 2,930; so that the bye-law could not be carried out in Greenwich till this deficiency was provided for. But even those figures did not show the real state of the case, because one school he knew was returned as capable of accommodating thirteen infants, and he knew there was not room for more than four. They, therefore, had a deficiency of 2,932 for which they had no provision. (Canon MILLER: No, no.) He was prepared with the statistics to prove it.

Mr. W. GREEN (Hackney) seconded Mr. Waugh's amendment. He felt that he could not say what ought to be done on bye-law 2 till bye-law 8 had been decided; but he felt also that if they put these bye-laws in force now, they had no schools in the metropolis to which to send their children and,

here came up the question of the 8th bye-law. It seemed to him that to pass No. 2 without some rider would commit them to the payment of fees also in denominational schools. (No, no.) He had looked at this matter very carefully, and that was his opinion. He agreed with Mr. Lucraft in his desire to see the children of the poor educated, and to use the requisite compulsion, but he thought some such proviso as had been suggested was necessary. If they carried this bye-law as it stood, would not the denominational schools have the right to come forward and demand that the children should be compelled to fill the vacancies in their schools? At any rate that was his impression, and on that ground chiefly he supported the amendment.

Mr. W. H. SMITH, M.P. (Westminster), said that was a new bye-law altogether. He appealed to Mr. Waugh not to push his amendment, as the board would be stultifying itself. The board first of all would agree to compulsion, and then impose a condition which was impossible of fulfilment. It was inconceivable that with the population of London growing at the rate of 40,000 a year, the Education Department could at any one moment undertake to say that there was a sufficient amount of accommodation in the public elementary schools of the metropolis. It was better to withdraw compulsion altogether, than endeavour to deal with it by a side-wind.

Miss DAVIES (Greenwich) hoped the board would not consent to such a sweeping process as Mr. Waugh had suggested. When the bye-laws were passed, then the board would consider the machinery; and when they had considered the machinery, they would be able to begin to put it in force. What she desired to see was a sufficient supply of a great variety of schools, so that there should be no risk of sweeping the children into the schools of any one denomination. She thought it would be in the power of the board to say it would enforce the bye-laws in certain selected districts where a sufficient supply of schools afforded a choice. What she wanted to protest against was the opinion that they could not begin to enforce till they could enforce over all the vast districts of London. She thought it would be advisable to try it in selected districts, and see how it worked.

Mr. CHATFEILD CLARKE (Finsbury) thought Miss Davies was under a misapprehension as to the Act of Parliament, which said that Her Majesty in Council should sanction the bye-laws, which should thereupon have the same effect as if they were part of the Act; therefore it could not be applied partially. The question whether children ought to be driven into denominational schools was at the basis of this discussion, and ought to be treated so at once. Mr. Waugh's amendment went to the question of suitability, and not sufficiency; and it cut away a great portion of Mr. Smith's argument.

Professor HUXLEY wished to say a few words before the amendment was put. It did not appear to him that it would in any way involve the consequences pointed out by Mr. Smith. He apprehended that there would be practical sense in the way in which the words "sufficient school accommodation" were understood. He must protest against the assumption of some members of the board that they held the only true and saving views on this matter of compulsion. (Laughter.) It really did not follow because he or any other member of the board thought that question one of the most difficult practical questions that had ever been remitted to a body of men, and because they did not feel inclined to rush blindly, fanatically, and foolishly into measures the consequences of which they could not foresee, that they were acting from the motives which had been ascribed to them. As far as Mr. Lucraft had put this view before them, he must remind Mr. Lucraft that although he represented many working men, he did not represent all, and he believed that, so far as that question was concerned, he (Professor Huxley) represented a very much larger section. If Mr. Lucraft's experience had been rather wider—if he had been present when Mr. Cremer made such admirable speeches during the canvass of the electors of Marylebone—speeches in which Mr. Cremer spoke as a man who had had to deal with this matter practically, having had to support a parent from ten or eleven years of age—he might have held a somewhat different view. No man would go farther than he would theoretically in asserting the right of the State to enforce education; but rights were one thing, practice another; and if, in endeavouring to enforce abstract rights they rode roughshod over the wishes and affections of the people, their abstract rights might come to grief. That was a lesson which the people had taught their rulers before, and they might teach it them again. He was most desirous that at the earliest possible opportunity it should be regarded as a crime for any man in this country not to send his child to school; but they must educate the sense of the people before they could give a law any real force: otherwise it would be waste paper. He believed their great duty was in the first place to hold out to people such inducements to use schools that they would by degrees, in the course of a generation—and he should be very happy if the thing were accomplished sooner—learn to consider ignorance and neglect of education as great a crime as drunkenness or theft. It was his earnest desire to see that day, but it would not come any the more quickly for their endeavouring to force it on. The other day he was exceedingly struck in visiting one of the lowest parts of Spitalfields to learn how, where formerly there was no education, five or six hundred children had, chiefly through the efforts of a benevolent lady and others, been gathered into schools. That was far better than sending an official to sweep children out of their homes. (Hear, hear.) By planting a school in such localities they would within ten or fifteen years, secure nine-tenths of all the children, and that without offering violence to any one. He should like to know whether the term "reasonable excuse" included the absence of a school belonging to the particular sect of a parent. He would take the case of a large district where there was a provision for thousands of children of Churchmen and Dissenters, and none for fifty or sixty Roman Catholic children. Did the board mean to insist that in spite of the vehement objection of Roman Catholic parents to have their children educated in other schools but their own, the children should attend those schools? That was a practical problem, and not a merely speculative one. If they adopted some such proviso as was adopted by Mr. Waugh they would know exactly what was meant; otherwise they would be driving children into schools without knowing whether or not there were such schools as parents could send their children to, or whether the schools were such as they would be justified in supporting with the money of the ratepayers.

The Rev. Dr. RIGG thought that the time when the bye-laws should come into operation should be embodied in a subsequent resolution. For the rest he agreed emphatically with every word that Professor Huxley had said. These were the views he had himself held, and he wished that Professor Huxley had spoken those words some months ago as persuasively and powerfully as he had spoken them to-day, but now he believed it was too late. (No, no.) He greatly lamented that it was too ate. (Divide, divide.)

Mrs. ANDERSON (Marylebone) said she also claimed to be a representative of the working man—(laughter)—and she could most emphatically state that the working man did not wish that question of compulsion to be shelved by the question of denominational schools or any other side question. On the contrary, she believed that working men would feel greatly disappointed if the board postponed the question of compulsion till they had determined whether fees should be paid in one school or another.

Mr. FREEMAN (Chelsea) asked whether a free translation of the speeches of Professor Huxley and Dr. Rigg did not mean that the board ought to give up compulsion at once, and have recourse to the persuasive process. He did not understand that Professor Huxley recommended compulsion at all. He rather said, "Begin with persuasion, and you will be successful, and, having been successful with persuasion, compulsion will not be necessary at all." That process would no doubt do for nine-tenths of the people, but it would not do for the remaining tenth, and it was for the latter class that the board would have to adopt the bye-law enforcing compulsion.

The board then adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

On Thursday the board reassembled at three o'clock at the Guildhall.

Mr. C. CLARKE presented a memorial from the pastor and congregation of Hare-court Chapel, Islington, against the payment of fees in denominational schools. The memorial, which was signed by Dr. Raleigh, the pastor of the congregation, and the deacons, was received.

THE ACT AND THE BYE-LAWS.

As the board was about to enter upon the adjourned discussion of the bye-laws, the CHAIRMAN requested the attention of the board to an opinion which the solicitor had prepared relative to the board's power to govern particular circumstances by bye-laws. The opinion was read. A long discussion, in which Professor HUXLEY took the lead, ensued, as to the competency of the solicitor to initiate of his own will such a document; and there was much controversy as to whether it should be printed and entered on the minutes.

Mr. REED, M.P., drew attention to Mr. Forster's speech of the 17th February, 1870, in which the right hon. gentleman said the boards had the power either of providing schools, or assisting existing schools, or of doing both, but on the condition that if they went upon the principle of assisting existing schools they must assist all schools on equal terms. (Hear, hear.) Lord SANDON said the vice-chairman was referring to a speech delivered by Mr. Forster on the second reading of the old bill. Dr. ANGUS, supporting Mr. Reed's view of the case, said Mr. Forster had at Bradford repeated the sentiments just read by the hon. member for Hackney. Mr. INGLE read a letter written by Mr. Forster embodying the same ideas.

Eventually it was agreed that the solicitor's opinion should be simply printed for circulation among the members.

THE COMPULSORY POWERS.

The debate on Mr. Waugh's amendment was resumed. Mr. SMITHIES (Hackney) objected to it. He instanced the case of Stockport, where there had been an increase of more than 26 per cent. in the schools under compulsion, as an illustration of the necessity of adopting the bye-law, urging that attendance should be at once enforced as far as practicable.

The Rev. J. A. PICTON said the population of London, according to the statistics, was 3,265,005. The education report endorsed Dr. Farr's estimate that, as a rule, one-seventh of the population might be set aside as belonging to the middle and upper classes, but in London the proportion was probably smaller. That would leave 2,798,576 who were of the class for which the board ought educationally to provide. According to the report of the Education Department, the children between the ages of three and twelve years might be taken as more than one fifth of the entire population; that was to say, 210 in 1,000. As the board, however, extended the age to thirteen, it might fairly be said that before the board were in a position efficiently to carry out any compulsory clause they ought at least to have accommodation for one-fifth of the population. At present the accommodation provided in all sorts of schools, including private schools, which were not always of the best kind, was 413,233, leaving an actual deficiency of 136,767 at the present moment. The statistics furnished by the board showed that there were in schools of all sorts vacancies for 53,560. He arrived, therefore, at the conclusion that there were 190,327 children in London who would come under the operation of the compulsory clause. Making such deductions as were thought necessary for illness, &c., the number of children to be forced into school was very great, and that number, it must be remembered, had to be forced into the places of 53,560. Let it be remembered that one-third of the present school accommodation consisted of that private system which would be almost certain to be uniformly rejected by the inspectors. The problem than was how to force 190,000 children into 53,000 places. If the board interfered at all they were bound to interfere for the good of all, but if they interfered so as to shut out the greater number of the children now destitute of education, they would excite a great deal of just opprobrium. Why should they not be contented for the present with that moral suasion, and that extension of enlightenment, which ought first to be tried? Only one-tenth of the vacancies existed in really unsectarian schools. His advice was to put compulsion into operation most cautiously, for by that manipulation of sectarian schools which seemed to be threatened they would only add injustice to impotence.

The Rev. Prebendary THOROLD (Marylebone) reminded the board that they had accepted the principle of compulsory education. Some of the members were changing their front. (No, no.) Certain difficulties were inducing the most able and thoughtful amongst them to consider whether they had not made a mistake, and could not retrace their steps. (No, no.) What they had to consider was what had occurred since last February to make the educational interests of the poor less striking than they were, and whether the practical difficulties of the Act had in any way increased. If they were to postpone compulsion until all the board schools were ready, they might postpone it until boards had altogether ceased to exist. As to the moral suasion that had been talked about, he had been for seventeen years a parish priest, for the most part in one of the poorest districts, of London, and the board might depend upon it they would never fill their schools with the kind of children they wanted by what was called moral suasion. Parents who could be approached and persuaded by moral suasion had sent their children already. (Cheers.) The board wanted to get the children out of the gutters. Moral suasion would mean blankets and soup, and all those little gifts which in plain English meant bribes. They could get as many children as they chose by that means; but he presumed the school board would not care to apply its funds in that way. They fact was they must employ some actual means of compulsion as soon as they could, else the Education Act would to a great extent become a dead letter. He for one did not care a rush about the Act if they were not to have compulsion. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR (Lambeth) said if the board passed the bye-law in its present form many of the members would be placed in very unpleasant and difficult circumstances, and they would be compelled to vote contrary to their expressed opinions and honest convictions. No member of the board had expressed himself more strongly with regard to compulsion than he, and no one was more in favour of it. He believed they would never reach the children, whom they were anxious to reach, without compulsion; but he was in favour of it at the proper time and under proper circumstances, and he believed at the present time it was impossible to carry it out fairly or fully. If the bye-law was carried out, the result would be to sweep into the denominational schools as many children as they could hold, and for whom the ratepayers would have to pay. (Hear, hear.) They should first allow a little breathing time, until a number of schools were given over to the board, until they had a number of free and industrial schools if necessary, and until there were some free board schools, and then, when the board has anything like a choice, they might have compulsion by all means.

Mr. CROSSMAN (Hackney) opposed the amendment because it was calculated to interfere with the board's freedom of action, as for the next two years their sole work almost would be buying sites and providing schools to make up the existing deficiency. In the public elementary schools of the metropolis there were 231,949 children on the rolls of the schools, but there were only 181,829 in attendance. The great obstacle to the progress of education had been the irregularity of attendance, and this had been one of the principal reasons why compulsory laws had been declared to be absolutely necessary. If the board applied their compulsory laws with that judiciousness which the machinery already ensured, they

would not force the children into the schools against the convictions of the parents; because he did not think the children whose names were already upon the school lists would be injured in point of conscience by pressure to bring them to the schools of their own choice. He should advocate the bye-law as it stood, believing that there was not the slightest likelihood of their carrying any of the bye-laws into effect in an unnecessarily unkind or harsh manner; but by working it gently, and having the power in their hands, they might possibly ensure the attendance of the children, and do away with the irregularity so much to be deplored. It was not possible to ignore all existing machinery for education; it would, in fact, be madness to try to do so, although he was of opinion they should try to induce denominational schools to come over to them, and not to put themselves in opposition merely because they were denominational. He was as much opposed to sweeping the children into Government schools by compulsory laws as Professor Huxley, but he was anxious to adapt himself to the circumstances by which they were surrounded, and not to stand in the way of the education of any one child when it could be avoided consistently with the claims of conscience. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PEARCE (Tower Hamlets) said the whole of the difficulty raised during the present debate was met by a clause which had been inserted. That clause insisted that children should attend school unless there was a reasonable cause for non-attendance If there was not accommodation, as had been described, that was a reasonable excuse. (Laughter.) The board had, in short, to carry out the Education Act, and that was what he pledged himself to before his constituents.

Mr. FEW (Lambeth) said the board was bound to do the best it could. Every year that they allowed to pass without compulsory powers would find children passing away from them altogether. If there were 53,000 vacancies which could not be filled without compulsion, it was their positive duty to pass the compulsory powers without loss of time.

Mr. HEPWORTH DIXON (Marylebone) said the board had been discussing the principle of compulsion, a thing which the board had settled eight months ago by unanimous vote, and which never ought to be discussed again. If they could only free themselves entirely from the idea that they were about to vote on the principle of compulsion, it would be much better. What they had to determine was whether they preferred the plain statement of the bye-laws prepared by the committee during five months of anxious consideration, or the introduction of a clause which entirely changed the character of the bye-law. The amendment, he held, would be positively fatal to the action of the board, for it robbed them of the power in the immediate future which it was highly necessary they should have.

The Rev. B. WAUGH said he had been consulted by several friends, and was willing to modify his resolution so that it would read as follows:—

That the following be adopted as Bye-law II.:—When and as soon as it shall be certified by the Education Department that suitable and efficient school accommodation has been provided in the district of the board, the parent of every child, of not less than five years, nor more than thirteen years of age, who shall have been served with a notice to that effect by any officer authorised by the board, shall be required to cause such child to attend, unless there be some reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

The Rev. Canon CROMWELL (Chelsea) said that in round numbers there were more than 100,000 children on the rolls who were not in attendance. If the board put the compulsory powers into operation, they would soon be able to send 100,000 children into schools to which no possible objection could be urged, but if they did not put the compulsory powers into operation they had no direct power to send those children to school. There was no case of sweeping the streets at all, the parents having selected the schools themselves and put the names of their children on the books. Mr. Waugh's modified amendment would, he believed, be very serviceable to the board. It should be remembered that what was true of one part of London was not true of another. In Chelsea, for example, they could put the Act into operation almost directly, and in connection with schools of various classes, although he was willing to anticipate the objection that the schools were not all in their right place.

The Rev. Dr. BARRY (Westminster) hoped the amendment, as it stood, would not be adopted. It meant that there was no one who was required to send his children to school unless he had been previously served with a notice; and the consequence was, they would have to serve 150,000 notices. In Stockport, which had been referred to during the debates, a very small number of notices were served, there was not a single prosecution, and a large number of children had been sent to school. The modification in the amendment was fatal to the clause. They had already, in the regulations that were proposed by the committee, a very sufficient machinery for carrying out the clause with consideration, and even with tenderness; and he maintained they had no right to encumber a simple bye-law with a machinery of this kind. Where there was a conscience clause, and where public opinion was directed to the school, it was absurd to talk of persecution. He should vote unhesitatingly for the principle of compulsion. (Cheers.)

Mr. LUCRAFT (Islington) said, without any proposal like that of Mr. Waugh, parents would, of course, have notice from the board prior to being summoned before a magistrate for not sending their children to school, but he believed that if that bye-law were adopted it would hardly ever be necessary to appeal to a magistrate. If it were true that there were 200,000 children not attending school, and only provision at present for 50,000, let them proceed to fill up the 50,000 vacancies, and at the same time set about building schools for the remainder. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. KIELL (Chelsea) hoped it would not go forth to the world that that board had any doubts on the question of compulsion. The people had made up their minds in favour of it, and he thought it would be a great injury to society not to carry it out.

The Rev. W. ROGERS (City) said it would of course be absurd to pass a bye-law for compelling all children to go to school when there was not sufficient accommodation for them. But they had ridden the hobby of denominationalism and sectarianism too far. No man could be more anti-denominational or anti-sectarian than he was, but on that board everything was tinged with that idea. If they had to elect a surveyor or a solicitor the question was whether a particular candidate was sectarian? (Laughter.) Their business was to educate children, and he did not care whether a child was brought up in a Church school, a Baptist school, a Jewish school, or any other school, provided he were taught his duty to God and man. In looking over the "Blue Book" he found that there was accommodation for 413,000 children, and only 254,000 in attendance. If the amendment were adopted it would appear to the world as if they were afraid of the ghost which they had raised. (Hear, hear.) Let them first pass that bye-law, and afterwards proceed to make arrangements.

Mr. LAFONE (Southwark) said he represented a large district, the inhabitants of which were chiefly working people, and, having had a great deal of communication with them on the subject, he had not found a single dissentient from the principle of compulsion; and he could not understand why, when working men felt the necessity of compulsion, the board should act contrary to their wishes. As the board were not in favour of adopting five years as the age for compulsion to commence, there were perhaps 90,000 children to be struck off Mr. Picton's estimate of 190,000 for whom there was no provision.

Mr. S. MORLEY (City) appealed to Mr. Waugh not to divide the board, observing that no magistrate would inflict a penalty on a parent unless he had had notice from a school board, and that that was what he had previously intended.

The Rev. B. WAUGH said, as it appeared to be the anxious desire of some of his friends that he should withdraw the amendment in order that the board might approach the next question with a better temper, he would yield to the appeal.

The amendment was then withdrawn.

Professor HUXLEY having, so as to place himself in order, moved the previous question, said he wished to say a few words on the original motion. He had had the great misfortune to speak very early in the debate, an error which he should avoid committing again, as it had made him a target for other speakers. (Laughter.) He was anxious to put himself right on a point on which his position had been misunderstood. Dr. Rigg spoke as if he had been guilty of some inconsistency, that idea being based on the fact that he was a member of the Education League. Although he was a member of the League, he should be sorry to pledge himself to all the views to which its members had given utterance. (Hear, hear.) If Dr. Rigg and Mr. Thorold had attended his meetings at Marylebone, they would know that he there expressed precisely the same view as he had done before the board. He had, in fact, never approached that subject without saying that while he entirely approved of compulsion on principle, he thought it was one of the most difficult questions that could possibly be discussed, and that in practice it required the utmost possible care. He had never met with any other opinion than that from any man who really understood the matter. Although it appeared to be thought that he had made a sort of Balaclava flank march on that question, he begged to say that his opinions remained precisely what they were, and he hoped that that statement would go before the public. The object of himself and those who agreed with him just then was to prevent hasty and ill-considered action with regard to compulsion; and that object would, he thought, have been attained by means of those debates. The public would now understand that the great majority of the board were not in favour of rushing forward blindly and sweeping children into schools; that they took reasonable views of the matter; and that they were disposed to apply the principle of compulsion, the necessity of which, in its proper place, no one understood better than he did, carefully and deliberately. (Hear, hear.)

Professor HUXLEY's amendment was then withdrawn; after which the original motion was agreed to.

THE PAYMENT OF FEES TO DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Several proposed bye-laws were then postponed in order that the board might proceed to consider bye-law No. 8, viz.:—

If any parent, whose child is or has been attending any school, or who has been served with a notice under these bye-laws, requiring him to cause his child to attend school, shall satisfy the board that he is unable, from poverty, to pay the whole or some part of the school fees of such child, the board, in the case of a school provided by the board, will remit, and in the case of any other public elementary school, will pay the whole of the fees or such part thereof as, in the opinion of the board, the parent is unable to pay, for such renewable period, not exceeding six calendar months, as shall be from time to time fixed by the board. Provided that the amount of the fees to be paid shall not exceed either the ordinary fee charged at the school selected by the parent, or the following scale, viz.—twopence per week in infant schools, and threepence per week in boys, girls, and mixed schools.

The Rev. J. RODGERS, in moving the adoption of this bye-law, observed that he was in the awkward position of having (as chairman of the committee) to propose what he entirely disapproved. (Laughter.) His only object in proposing it was to introduce discussion.

Mr. C. CLARKE, in seconding the motion, also intimated his dissent from it.

Mr. S. MORLEY then moved as an amendment:—

That the board, while anxious to utilise existing accommodation, wherever it can do so on the same principles which it is required to apply to its own schools, cannot bind itself to pay fees in schools which are conducted on denominational principles, and, therefore, resolves to omit from the proposed Bye-law VIII. the following words, in lines six and seven:—"And in the case of any other public elementary school will pay;" and, also, all the words from the word "board" in line twelve to the end of the bye-law.

He said the members of the board were so well acquainted with the various arguments on both sides of the question, that he need not occupy much time. He was quite aware of the excitement which existed on that question, how deeply men's hearts and consciences were stirred with regard to it, and he should therefore carefully avoid uttering a single word which might add to the bitterness which he was sorry to say had been imported into the discussions. He had very little sympathy with the agitation out of doors. When that subject was first brought before the House of Commons, there was a deep conviction in the minds of great numbers that the people generally should be roused to a sense of parental responsibility, and that it would be better to lessen rather than increase the functions of the Government in a matter which was confessedly so delicate. He felt, in common with many others, that education would be comparatively worthless if there were no religious element in it, and he believed that most of the best educationists concurred in that view. He thought that by teaching a man to make a lock, you gave him a temptation to pick a lock, unless at the same time you taught him that such an act would be a sin against God as well as an offence against man. (Hear, hear.) He believed that religious education, in the best sense of the term, had nothing whatever to do with denominationalism or sectarianism—(Hear, hear)—and he wished to keep it free from both. Denominationalism was a narrow stunted feeling, which destroyed all power and vitality on the part of those who were controlled by it; and he had no faith in the man whose only object in promoting the prosperity of a school was to promote the interests of his own denomination. He had had the honour of being connected for five-and-twenty years with schools respecting which one of the chief Government inspectors said that he was unable to detect to what denomination it belonged. The managers determined to keep out of those schools everything which could possibly lead to a taint of denominationalism, and it was the testimony of Mr. Matthew Arnold that the school system under Dr. Unwin, of Homerton, might in that respect well be taken as the foundation of a national system of education. He (Mr. Morley) desired to see that board keep itself free from denominationalism. As an Englishman he felt grateful to various denominations for what they had done in the cause of education. No one could deny that at least seven-eighths of the educational work of the country had been done by them. (Hear, hear.) It was, therefore, from no spirit of opposition to the denominations, nor from any desire to interfere with the action of their schools, that he proposed that amendment. But he confessed that he had a great desire to tempt them by any means that were honourable to join the board in that work. He earnestly wished that men who were not actuated merely by a desire to extend their particular Church, but whose object was to help forward the education of England, would connect themselves with the school boards, and so render unnecessary the erection of new school buildings at great cost to the ratepayers, and especially stop an agitation which, he believed, would land them before long in a secular system of education. (Hear, hear.) He should think it an evil day for England when the Bible and religious teaching were excluded by penalty from all schools. On that point he must say that he had never heard any parents of the working class object to their children being subjected to the fair teaching of the Bible. (Hear, hear.) What such persons protested against was any attempt to make their children Church people, Baptists, Wesleyans, or members of any religious denomination. He was persuaded that the scheme adopted by the board, on the motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by himself, in favour of purely Bible teaching, would meet with little opposition among working men. No parent had a right to say that his rights of conscience were infringed by such teaching as that. If, indeed, any ratepayer said, "I have no faith in the Bible, nor in God, nor in heaven, nor in hell, and therefore I protest against your making me pay for a school where such things are taught," he (Mr. Morley) would reply, "I, too, protest against education being moulded so as to suit your views of that matter"; while, on the other hand, he would rather pay double his own share of rates than have rates levied from one who held such opinions. His desire in proposing that amendment was to promote the cause of peace and of religion. Its adoption would, he believed, settle the minds of thousands of persons who were originating an excitement and

agitation which would tend to disturb every district of London. Those persons were doing their best to frustrate the object of the Act—an Act in connection with which he thought the Government, and Mr. Forster pre-eminently, had not, on the whole, acted so unfairly as some supposed. There were undoubtedly mistakes in that Act, but they were mistakes which public opinion and experience would, he believed, soon remedy. Having been present during the discussions in the House of Commons, and observed the desire evinced by the Government to meet, so far as seemed practicable, the views of opponents, he must say that he thought very scant justice had been done to Mr. Forster. (Hear, hear.) No one could have supposed that with the deep convictions held by so many Englishmen on ecclesiastical questions, a national system of education would be launched at once in a perfect form; but the people of this country were accustomed to effect their revolutions in a peaceable and bloodless way. Now, he might remark, was it likely that the school system of England would be so moulded as to meet the extreme views which were opposed to the common sense of the country. At all events, he had no sympathy with some of the demands which were being made, and which, if pressed, would lead to great difficulties. He was anxious to concede to the utmost possible extent, which would not involve any unfair compromise, with a view to united action, not only on the part of that board, but also on the part of those whom it represented. He had regretted to see some of his friends out of doors committing themselves to a certain line of action, and he would now call upon all, however great might be their preference for one course rather than another, to see whether they could not make such concessions as would enable the work to be carried on successfully. By his amendment he wished to provide that the board should not be bound to pay money where it would have no control. He believed that if the board adopted his proposal, which related simply to the case of children upon whom compulsion would have to be brought to bear, postponing the matter during the transition period on which they were entering, some other course would hereafter be suggested. He held out the amendment as an olive branch, and he believed its acceptance would do more than almost anything else to remove the causes of discontent which had arisen, and which threatened immense evils. The adoption of the proposed bye-law would render inevitable the establishment of secular schools, which would, in his opinion, be fatal to one great object of the Act, inasmuch as the class of children who required compulsion were those who had hardly ever heard the name of God. He liked to call a spade a spade, and he said that "unsectarian" meant "secular." (No, no.) He knew it did not strictly mean secular, but to speak of unsectarian education was with some a pleasant way of expressing what was intended, and although he did not undervalue secular teaching alone, knowing from experience in the case of porters in his own establishment, that it was useful for men to be able merely to read and write, he wished to prevent the adoption of a mere secular system for the nation. As to the parental difficulty, he felt sure that it was an absolute myth. He also believed that the immense mass of intelligent people in England were in favour of having the religious element in schools, and that they would best secure the great object in view by determining that payment of fees out of the rates should be confined to schools under the control of the board. (Cheers.)

Mr. McArthur seconded the amendment. He said the question was a very difficult one, and he considered that no question had presented itself to the board upon which he had had so much difficulty in making up his mind. On the one hand, he was not in favour of narrow-minded sectarian denominational schools, and the Education Act of last year would have pleased him much better had it been more national and less denominational in its provisions. He was aware that many of the denominational schools of the country did not deserve to be characterised as narrow-minded and sectarian, though many others might be called such. At the same time the nation owed a deep debt of gratitude to the churches for what they had done in the cause of education during the last twenty-five or thirty years. He had no sympathy with those who wished to sweep away all our denominational schools and establish in their place a purely secular system in which no religious instruction could be given. He would greatly prefer a comprehensive national system from which the Bible would not be excluded, and in whose schools unsectarian religious instruction suitable to children might be given such as had been agreed to in the schools of the board. He had no wish, however, to retard the denominational schools already in existence. But he should oppose the payment of fees in denominational schools, because while the Act had been generally accepted by the Liberal party, it had met with determined opposition in some quarters, which was proved by the fact that there were 124 boroughs where the Act had not been adopted, and that out of upwards of 13,000 parishes, only about 200 had established school boards. He objected also because whatever helped to perpetuate denominational schools operated against the principle of national education, which was certainly not the intention of the framers of the Act. He objected because it would promote the zeal of churches in favour of pauper claimants, and just in proportion to this zeal would the churches enjoy the grants of the public money to the injury of the more industrious and honest population. He objected, also, because they were not justified in expending public money in paying for children in schools over which they had no control. He objected also because, while the erection of schools would be expensive, he was not sure that they would be so expensive as education in denominational schools. He objected also because the system was likely to give rise to social distinctions and animosities. Again, he objected because the payment of fees would be very unequal and unfair, and in London would amount practically to an endowment of two Churches—the Church of England and the Roman Catholic. Those denominations would receive by far the largest share of the public money. At the same time he repudiated any feeling of hostility towards the Established Church or any other Evangelical denomination of Christians,—on the contrary, he heartily wished them God speed. With regard to Roman Catholics, he would give them the same rights and privileges enjoyed by other sections of Her Majesty's subjects, but he would not give them any special privileges. He objected also because whilst in some places denominational schools were well conducted, in other places it was not so. Great stress, he was aware, had been laid upon a "conscience clause." He attached great importance to the liberty to attend whatever Sunday-school the children preferred, but little importance to the conscience clause in other respects. Every one knew that in our day schools it was of rare occurrence for parents to withdraw their children during the period of religious instruction, unless incited to do so by the clerical influence. (Laughter.) Talking to an intelligent master of a denominational school in London, he asked him, "Is there anything in the teaching given in your school which is of a sectarian character?" The answer was, "No." "Is there anything said or taught in your school which would enable parents to discover to which particular denomination your school belongs?" The answer was, "No." "Do you find that parents are sometimes unwilling to allow the children to remain for religious instruction?" The answer was, "I have never known a single case."—"Do you teach a catechism"? The answer was, "No; I give a Scripture-lesson suitable to the capacity of the children present." Unfortunately, however, all schools were not so conducted, and on this question he would trouble the board with extracts from published speeches of the Bishops of Chester and Peterborough. The Bishop of Chester said, "Whatever arrangement might be made for the time, the clergyman would find it his wisdom, as well as his duty, to make it a point of being present, if not of himself teaching. The hour assigned to him would be his great opportunity for winning and retaining the affections of the children, as well as for grounding them in the Christian faith. The time-table or conscience-clause would be set forth on the walls of the schoolroom, as the Act required, but the clergyman in a school not supported by rates was of course free to give his teaching as marked a Church of England character as he might think fit. It was now of more importance than ever to save Sunday-school teaching from being in any way wearisome and to make it acceptable and attractive." And the Bishop of Peterborough said:—"The more stringent examinations which would ensue under the changed state of things would be a benefit and no real hurt to any one of their schools; it would necessitate a considerable effort to raise up the standard of their schools; but a Government inspector being a reasonable and sensible man would not dream of expecting a uniform standard for village and town schools. With respect to religious education, that was altogether different. The duty of the Church was to give religious teaching to the nation, whether the nation would take it at their hands or not; and by religious teaching he meant definite teaching—dogmatic teaching—a distinct enunciation of dogmas which they believed must be revealed teaching." The right rev. prelate went on to urge Churchmen to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them by the State of visiting the State schools periodically, to test the religious knowledge of the members of their own flock, and expressed his approval of the appointment of religious inspectors, who must, however, be clergymen. He had no objection to the zeal of these right rev. prelates, but he would like to know of what use was a conscience clause in schools conducted in that spirit. To some Church schools he should have no objection to send his children; to other Church schools he should have a great objection. Still, if all the schools were conducted in a proper manner, the payment of fees in denominational schools would act unjustly, for amongst Nonconformists and Methodists there were comparatively fewer poor than among Churchmen and Roman Catholics. The two latter churches would therefore get the lion's share of the rates. In support of this view they need only see how the system worked in Manchester, where 188*l.* had been paid for 3,394 Church of England children; 101*l.* for 226 Roman Catholic children; 35*l.* for children of different denominations, 6*l.* for 158 Wesleyans, and 17*s.* 6d. for seventeen Presbyterians—or 289*l.* to the Church of England and the Roman Catholics, and 42*l.* to all other denominations; and in London the proportion would be still greater as against Nonconformists and the injustice would be greater. If they paid these fees they would be placing an obstacle in the way of their own work, and would be enabling denominational schools to carry on their work at the public expense—with comparatively little voluntary effort. Nor would this be all. There were at present in the denominational schools in this city a very large number of children educated without charge, or for whom benevolent people paid the school fees. If this bye-law be passed in its present form these children would at once come upon the rates, and their school fees would go to swell the income of the schools they were at present attending. Now, considering that the capitation grant had been raised from a third to fifty per cent., and considering that every child would be worth some 10*s.* or 12*s.*, which would be paid by the Government, he did not imagine denominational schools would be much worse off than before if they were to fill up their vacant spaces without asking any fees from the rates. (Hear.) This would at once relieve them of the difficulty they now experienced, and it would be an exhibition of denominational zeal and liberality which they could appreciate and rejoice in. But to do what they were now asked to do by passing this bye-law would make many of these schools almost, if not altogether, self-supporting—or perhaps he should say it would leave them entirely supported by public money, and enable them to dispense with voluntary contributions, while without such assistance from the rates many of them would doubtless be transferred to the school board. After a few other observations Mr. McArthur concluded by seconding the amendment.

It being now six o'clock, the debate was adjourned.

Third Day.

Payment of fees in denominational schools.

The board met again on Friday afternoon, at the Council Chamber, Guildhall, to continue the discussion on the above subject; Lord Lawrence presiding.

Mr. Smithies, by consent, resumed the debate in place of Mr. Few, who moved the adjournment on Thursday. It was, he said, with great reluctance that he rose to oppose the amendment of Mr. Morley. They were sent there not to legislate, but to carry out the Act of Parliament. Great powers were given to them, but on some points their path of duty was clearly marked out. No one could doubt that the question before them was one which caused the deepest interest out of doors. It had long been his delight to labour for the working classes, and he must say that, as a rule, they arrived at common-sense conclusions. But what was the position assumed a day or two ago by the working men's deputation to that board? The deputation urged the necessity of three things: free education, unsectarian education, and compulsory education. Those hard-handed working men evidently had in view that admirable system which had produced such extraordinary fruits in the United States. In America there was no difficulty with regard to fees. All schools were free. The son of the peasant and the son of the merchant sat side by side, and there was that commingling of all ranks and conditions which was the strength of the nation. The law of America said to every father, "You must send your child to school"; it said to every child, "You have a right to be educated in one school or another." The father had a perfect right to send his child to a denominational school, but if he failed to do that, he must send him to the district school provided out of the rates of the country. Further, the law included a noble enactment which had nothing resembling it in this country; it said to every manufacturer, "You shall not employ either a boy or a girl unless there be produced by the parent a certificate from a schoolmaster declaring that he or she has passed through a reasonable course of education." That was the position of free, unsectarian, and compulsory education in America. The fathers did not pay fees except in the form of rates, but every man had to contribute to the education of children of the country. He believed that if Mr. Morley's amendment were agreed to, they would be acting contrary not only to the letter but also to the spirit of the Act from beginning to end. The board was entrusted with the mission of finding out how many children were not attending school, and inquiring what deficiency of education there was. They were not to supplant existing schools, but to supply deficiencies. They were to examine the schools which they met with, and whenever they found a school answering to four conditions, there was a public elementary school within the meaning of the Act. These four conditions were, first, the exhibition of the conscience clause; secondly, that religious instruction was given at certain prescribed times; thirdly, that the school was open to the inspection of Her Majesty's inspectors; and, fourthly, that the school was conducted such a manner as to entitle it to a parliamentary grant. In the eye of the law the new schools were to have no preference over the existing schools that have complied with the law. It would be unjust to parents and injurious to children if Mr. Morley's motion were carried. He thanked God that the clause in question left the parents unfettered to choose whether the school to which they sent their children should be sectarian or not. Although no one was a greater advocate of freedom than Mr. Morley, that hon. member was now urging the board to take a course which was contrary to the whole tenour of his life. Mr. Morley's resolution was calculated to force a parent to send his children to a board school to the master of which he conscientiously objected. (No, no.) The amendment would also operate unfavourably and unjustly against the ratepayers. He warned the board not to fall into the mistake of refusing to do what they could because they could not do what they wanted. He hoped the board

schools would soon absorb all the existing schools, from their sheer superiority; but meanwhile let them use what was at their disposal. The amendment would be unjust to the ratepayers, because there was already provision for 413,000 children, while in the school attendances there were deficiencies to the amount of 158,000. The greatest difficulty was with reference to the Roman Catholic children. It had been said that if the bye-law was passed as it stood there would be an overwhelming number of applications for the payment of fees to Roman Catholic children. ("No, no," and "Hear, hear.") This was an acknowledged difficulty which the board must meet and deal with. The Education Act clearly showed that not only could they deal with schools that belonged to the Christian churches, where a certain number of hours of secular teaching were enforced, but might every half-year have a kind of religious gala day. (Laughter.) As the law said that every child should be educated, any Roman Catholic child whose parents were too poor to pay the fees might demand to be educated by the board. The principle, in fact, had been already conceded. It had been said that the action of the board as regarded the remission of fees was entirely permissive. He denied that. The Act said, "The board may if they think fit." (Laughter.) Was not the common-sense meaning of the words that they should do it? (No, no.) He was sure no one there wished to deprive the poor of the benefits of education. He heartily concurred in the wish expressed by Mr. Morley that all might unite in the work of education. But he would beseech his Nonconformist friends to pause in their present opposition to an amicable compromise. (Hear, hear.) Let them use diligence in action, and not merely in debate, bearing in mind the maxim of the Great Teacher, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you."

Mr. C. Reed, M.P., (Hackney) was glad that on some points he agreed with his friend who had just spoken. With him he desired to see religion in their schools; with him he desired that they should utilise existing schools. But he strongly objected to the payment of fees in denominational schools; he objected to the payment of fees out of the ratepayers' money for the teaching of denominationalism in any school whatever. Mr. Smithies spoke of great powers having been given to the board. He had always thought until recently that they had great powers; but latterly he had begun to do it. On the previous day they were warned that Ministerial statements, whether made last year or last week, went for nothing. They were told that the action of the Education Department, though guided by the highest legal authority in the land, was uncertain, and his friend Mr. Smithies had now, almost with a show of legal knowledge, urged that wherever they met with the word "may," they must translate it by "must." (Laughter.) It would be convenient for them to know what their powers really were. As a member of the House of Commons, he declared his belief that on that question they were endowed with absolute discretion. His friend denied that, and said that "may" meant "must." If "may" meant "must" throughout the Act of Parliament, what need had they to deliberate on any question whatever? (Hear, hear.) The whole thing was done for them, and they were altogether in the hands of the department. He thought they were free to act; he thought they were as free to decline to pay these fees as they were to pay them. (Hear, hear.) He believed there was no obligation resting upon them either way, and that as Liverpool had chosen to pay, so, like Portsmouth, London might decline to pay them if it thought fit. If that were not the case, the sooner they knew it the better; but he thought that it was, and on that basis he trusted the board would act resolutely. (Cheers.) The question was left to the ratepayers, through their representatives, and the board stood in that position. He would remind the board that they had, by deliberately-adopted resolutions, carefully and skilfully framed, in a spirit of harmony and in terms of compromise, settled their line of conduct already. In passing these regulations the board had done what Parliament declined to do. When on June 30, 1870, only 130 members of the House of Commons voted for Mr. Bright's amendment, viz.:—"In any such school in which the Holy Scriptures shall be read and taught the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination," the Government opposed that amendment, declaring that, with the conscience clause, the evil which it contemplated could never arise; and he now appealed to his honourable friends who had the distinguished honour of moulding their resolutions to maintain the principle so clearly laid down by the board. They had limited their discretion in regard to this matter by declaring that the spirit and letter of the Act should pervade all their actions in reference to religious teaching. They were bound to require that no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any denomination should be taught in any school assisted by the board, and they must take care that no grant was made in support of any such instruction. It was under these circumstances that they came to the consideration of the report of the committee, who, though divided in opinion, were desirous to avoid pauperising people by the payment of fees. One thing was certain—the fees must in some cases be paid. If the parents were unable to pay, the board must do so; but, which ever paid, the school must be an efficient elementary school. (Hear, hear.) Now, who was to choose the school? His friend, Mr. Smithies, contended that the parent should have the choice. He admitted that in ordinary cases it should rest with the parent to choose the school where his child should be instructed; but a parent who could not pay the fees for the teaching of his children was not in the same position as one who could. He did not mean to say that they had any right to take advantage of that—(Hear, hear)—but there was clearly a difference between the two cases. While the board must take care that a child whose parent could not pay the school fees was not taught anything in the way of religion to which the parent objected, it was equally bound to provide that it was not taught anything beyond what the Act of Parliament permitted to be taught in board schools. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Smithies came forward as champion of religious liberty. They had had representatives of religious liberty before the board as a deputation, and they were bound to regard that question as one of conscience with a large and increasing body of persons. One conscience was as good as another. (Hear, hear.) There were two consciences before them. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) First, there was the conscience of the parent. The parent conscientiously desired that his child should go to a church school or a chapel school, and a very natural thing that was. But why did the parent want his child to go to a particular school? That it might have in that school, whether it were a church or a chapel one, what it could not get in a board school—(Hear, hear)—what the board could not and dare not give. The parent was to have the power of forcing them to pay to another school for a child's receiving what they could not give it under the Act of Parliament in one of their own schools. What they were asked to do was, in fact, to make a law under which a contraband article might be introduced into a school, and the ratepayers be compelled to pay for it. (Hear, hear.) Then, there was the ratepayer's conscience as well as the parent's. He did not view that merely as a question of money, but the ratepayer had a conscience in the matter. The nation had, through its representatives, decided that a certain thing ought not to be given by them, and it was a nice question of morals whether, when they could not give it in their own schools, they could pay for its being given elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) The spirit of the Act prohibited that—their own resolutions condemned it. Were the ratepayers to be compelled to contribute to the teaching, not of one form, but of all forms of religious belief, in order that the parent, in the exercise of his liberty of conscience, might have, not merely education which was religious in tone, but denominational teaching, which was prohibited in express terms as regarded all schools by the Act of Parliament? (Hear, hear.) He should not object to fees being paid in denominational schools if they were conducted on the same principles as those of the British and Foreign School Society, and some other schools with which he was acquainted. Although he was a Nonconformist, he had no feeling of antagonism towards the Church of England. He wished that all Church schools were conducted in the spirit manifested by an eminent member of that board in a speech at the recent Church Congress at Nottingham. In that speech Dr. Barry was reported to have said "that with all the defects of the Act, he concluded that Churchmen ought to accept it resolutely and work it loyally. They must make their schools really good, and, above all, keep up a really religious tone. They must be sure not to tamper with the conscience clause or infringe religious liberty." How such words rebuked the utterances of those who were advising officially the conductors of the schools of the National Society, reckoning by far the largest number of Church schools under its direct control! The August number of the monthly paper issued by the National Society, contained these words:—

> In the present condition of Church schools it is more than ever necessary that they should be made nurseries of Church principles. The cause of the Church has suffered much from the vagueness and ambiguity of the teaching uttered in her name, both in the pulpit and the schoolroom. If by a time-table religious instruction be limited to a single hour a day, the more need is there that the teaching given in that hour should be pointed, dogmatic, and unmistakeable. All that is happening in the matter of education is a call to the Church to put out her strength, and to do valiant battle for her principles in our schools. Leaving the teacher to act as pioneer, the clergyman must follow on to turn to good account the basis of facts which the teacher has laid in the minds of the children. They ought to know why they should be Churchmen and not Dissenters; why they should go to church and not to meeting; why they should be Anglicans and not Romanists.

A member of that board asked a member of one of the deputations on Wednesday whether, supposing they had guarantees that no sectarian teaching would be given in denominational schools, they would then be satisfied? The answer was "Yes." And the country would be satisfied if that were the case; but would the country be satisfied with the ratepayers being compelled to pay for teaching of a distinctive sectarian character? (Hear, hear.) He was glad to think that Dr. Barry and other members of the board were no parties to such recommendations as those which he had just read; but were they not bound to defend the ratepayers against being indirectly parties to such an abomination? (Hear, hear.) Who were the children for whom this provision was intended? The children of in-door paupers were provided for by the State, while those of out-door paupers would have to be provided for by the board. Setting aside these two classes and the commercial class of children, whom had they to deal with? Why, the striving poor of the metropolis, who in spirit were among the most independent and self-reliant portion of the community. As regarded even the ragged-schools, in which there was no denominational teaching, he would remark that many of the parents were willing to pay towards the expense of their children's education. He believed there would be found a greater readiness to pay a small fee. If the schools were purely secular, he could understand this conscientious difficulty of the parent. He himself would not send a child of his to a purely secular school, and it was well known that in the House of Commons and elsewhere he had expressed himself strongly in favour of a religious tone of teaching, but the teaching that had been provided struck at once at the argument about the poor man's conscience, because what the poor man would want would be that there should be some kind of moral and religious instruction for the children. If these schools were purely secular, the parents with conscientious views would not approve them, but by making them practically, but not sectarianly religous, they have no objections to urge. Again, if they were inferior, they might prefer the church or chapel school, but in this respect it would be found that the board schools would be superior, attractive, and popular. Still no one desired to extinguish the schools of the denominations, but the sooner they became what Dr. Barry and Dr. Rigg desired them to be, the better. He submitted that the choice of the poor of London had been made already. The type of what they wanted and had confidence in was the well-conducted ragged-school, where no denominationalism was known, and whose only fault was that they had not charged some small fee to such persons as took advantage of the instruction and were able to pay. Scores of these were coming over to the board, and in course of time they would have the very class of children now under consideration in large numbers, and in school board schools where good secular and undenominational religious teaching was given. (Hear.) Again, if the parent was to be allowed a choice, in all fairness the board ought to see that there was a good range of choice for him. What choice could there be for a Jew in parts of Finsbury; a Unitarian in the Tower Hamlets; a Moravian on Blackheath; or a Congregationalist in some parts of Marylebone? (Hear, hear.) And yet unless there was a range of choice it would be manifestly unfair to profess to allow it. Other arguments occurred to him; but he contented himself with saying that he opposed the proposed payment of fees in denominational schools, admittedly for denominational teaching, because it was contrary to the spirit and letter of the Act—because it was inconsistent with their own resolutions—because it was opposed to the will of a great body of the people—and, finally, because he could not consent to pay from their public funds to help, support, or sustain any school controlled exclusively by any religious denomination whatever. (Cheers.)

Mr. Langdale (Tower Hamlets) thought the religious difficulty was made a stalking-horse. There could be no doubt that the children whose fees were paid would be regarded as paupers, and the board schools would obtain an unenviable reputation in consequence. This was a mark of reprobation indeed, such as the industrial classes would never be reconciled to. The system of compulsion was now on its trial, and he was anxious that it should succeed; and, apart from any religious views he might have, he felt it was in the interests of all who sought to carry out the principles of compulsion that they should win their way with the people rather than force any system upon them. In considering this question he asked the board to bear in mind four leading points, viz., economy, expediency, justice, and religion. There were many things, of course, which might be done for the public welfare, but the board would have done its full duty when they had provided that instruction which was the object of the Education Act. The minimum of religious instruction which a Catholic parent would accept was not to be found in a board school. That minimum was the Douai Bible, read and explained by a Catholic, and that had been refused by the board. The board had declared that it considered religious instruction essential, and as Catholics would be compelled to pay for it, it would be hard if Catholics could not have such instruction as could be accepted. The result of the vote of the board might be to deprive Catholic children of any religious teaching whatever. It was a strong proof of the sincerity of the Catholic body that they had multiplied their schools without receiving much aid in the form of building grants. He believed the board would best discharge its duty by adopting the proposed bye-law.

Professor Huxley said he wished first to allude to the document which was read on the previous day by the solicitor of the board. He proceeded to criticise the statements of the paper *seriatim*. In opposition to the view there expressed, he maintained that the board had, under the terms of the Act, power either to pay fees or to refuse to pay them. He also cited the Act to show that whether they determined to remit fees or to pay them, the decision could only operate for six months, at the expiration of which the matter must again come before them. The remission of fees was, he contended, an entirely voluntary act. A fallacy ran through many of the speeches delivered there to the effect that destitute parents had a right to have their children's education paid for. There was

nothing in the Act to support such a notion; what the board had to do was to consider the excuses offered by parents when told that they should send their children to school. There was not a tittle of evidence that they were governed in any other part of the section with respect to the payment of fees. The curious position in which the board would be placed if the solicitor's account of the Act was correct, was this: If there was a board school, where the children paid 4d. per week, and in the neighbourhood there was a denominational school, where the children for some reason or other paid 8d. per week, the board, according to this new reasoning, would have to pay 8d. for their denominational children. (Hear, hear.) There never was to him a more astonishing interpretation of an Act of Parliament, and he trusted no member of the board would allow his mind to be influenced by it. Upon the general question there were some three or four matters which were, to his mind, the key of the entire position. The first of these was what, with all submission to gentlemen who held different opinions, he would venture to term the transparent fallacy that payments to a denominational school in which very distinct religious doctrines were taught was not a contribution towards the support of that school and the particular kind of teaching which was given there. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him most surprising that it could be maintained that if the board paid fees to a Catholic, Church, Wesleyan, or secular school, it did not to that extent *pro tanto* contribute to its support. (Hear, hear.) He submitted, therefore, that the school board being, as it was, a trustee for a great population, and having in its hands a course of action which would assuredly be used, whatever course it might happen to take, in dealing with larger, and it might be with imperial questions, ought most carefully to consider what it was doing when it undertook to pay fees to denominational schools of all kinds. (Hear, hear.) He now came to deal with a subject of great delicacy and difficulty, and he begged those gentlemen whom he might unwittingly offend to absolve him from any motive of desiring to speak of anything but the system which he proposed to attack. It would grieve him if the gentlemen to whom he was referring thought he took advantage of the fact that they were in a minority in the board. But the thing must be said. He held it as one of the most fixed and distinct articles of his belief, that there was no engine so carefully calculated for the destruction of all that was highest in the moral nature, in the intellectual freedom, and in the political freedom of mankind, as that engine which was at present wielded by the Ultramontane section of the Catholic Church. He carefully separated that section from the great movement to which he wished all success, and which was now being embodied in Germany under the presidency of Döllinger—(Hear, hear)—and under the name to which they were just entitled, viz., Old Catholics. (Hear, hear.) But it was notorious that any one who would take the trouble to watch the signs of the times would find that the power and authority of the Catholic Church was not at present wielded by them, but was absolutely in the hands of the Jesuits and Ultramontane factions of the Church. Under these circumstances, he was justified in what he was saying to the board. (Hear, hear.) He did not, from one point of view, venture to blame the authorities of the Church for what they had done; he gave them credit for believing, as honestly and sincerely as he did, in what they believed to be right, and they could not, perhaps, under the circumstances, have adopted any other than the line they had taken, which, as they themselves distinctly acknowledged, and as the Holy Father had put it, was immediate and direct antagonism to the spirit of modern society. (Hear, hear.) In common logical consistency—and he greatly admired the energy and consistency with which the Catholic authorities carried out their plans—the Catholic body could never be satisfied with anything whatever but complete possession of the whole minds and souls of the children whom they had in their hands. (Cheers.) He put it to a high Catholic authority the other day whether this was the case, and the reply was in the affirmative. He must confess that if he held Catholic views he should endeavour to do precisely the same thing. Nevertheless, he held it to be absolutely true that the predominance of those views was destructive of all that was highest in the nature of man. It was destructive of everything like freedom and intellectual progress, and he believed it was absolutely inconsistent with every possible form of free government. Under these circumstances, he ventured to submit it was the duty of every man who cared for the moral elevation of his fellow-men, for that intellectual freedom which had made this and every other country worthy of the name to be what it was, and for that political freedom which was supposed to be so dear to Englishmen, to consider carefully what they were about when they lent their support to the proposed system. He himself went further—he was not one of those who held the modern liberal doctrine that we ought to tolerate everything. He held with John Locke that whatever could be demonstrated to be actually against the welfare of society should be opposed by the whole power of the State. Without saying this principle should be put in force in the present instance, they should make up their minds, at any rate, not to help the system he had attacked—(Hear, hear)—and not to build up for themselves that which they would deplore when it was too late, for if the board subsidised one set of schools, they must subsidise all. (Cheers.) Supposing, again, the board made up their minds to pay for the children of all denominations, they would be doing an injustice to the consciences of those whose religious scruples did not allow them to send their children to board schools; and if they did not do that, they would find themselves in the position in which they were before. Mr. Reed's argument, that there would be in every district in London groups of children to whom they would offer precisely the injustice they wished to avoid, was quite unanswerable. A good deal had been heard at the board of a certain widow whose conscientious scruples had been violated. (Laughter.) Could that widow be possibly silenced? Even if ten denominations were subsidised, there would be a Muggletonian or some other new denomination springing up to perpetuate the objection. (Laughter.) He hoped, in the name of peace, and that efficiency of the board which peace alone could give, that recurrent contests, which would be the inevitable consequence of the payment of fees to denominational schools from six months to six months, would be avoided. He believed the board would simply wreck the Act if they passed the resolution. There were some of them who had made great sacrifices for the sake of peace and for the sake of education. He himself had made a considerable sacrifice, which at the same he fondly hoped would be sufficient. He did hope that the compromise which was made would have put an end to that religious difficulty which it was declared never existed, but which had beset the board from the outset. He had hoped the compromise would be reciprocal, but he could not say there had been any relaxation of those attempts to get back, by any means possible, in the hands of the ecclesiastical parties in the country, that denominational education which it was the whole purpose of the Act of Parliament to deprive them of. (Cheers.) Those of them who were in a minority felt that these attempts were being made, and that it was not fair play. (Cheers.)

Prebendary THOROLD, with reference to Mr. Reed's quotation from the paper of the National Society, said the document was not in any sense authoritative, and it was, in his opinion, extravagant. (Hear, hear.) Although some conscientious clergymen might feel it to be their duty, in the time permitted by Act of Parliament, to give ecclesiastical teaching, he believed that the number was not one in fifty. He had been manager of a school for twenty-three years, and never yet had asked a child to what religious community he or his parents belonged. His own opinion was that the half-hour allowed was far too precious to be spent in anything but the simplest Christian teaching. (Hear, hear.) To suppose, however, that that time was used for proselytising was a wrong which he entirely repudiated. They only asked for fees for the sake of justice. They were not in the least degree dying or likely to die. There never was a time when voluntary schools were more vital than at the present moment. They had no intention of giving them up, because it would be best for the country to have the two systems, because there was much money which would be lost, and because the board schools were not yet in operation. When he remembered that there upwards 14,000 children in St. Pancras alone who did not pretend to go to any school, he was anxious to see the uneducated sent to wherever there was room for them. (Cheers.)

The debate was again adjourned.

FOURTH DAY.

The board reassembled on Monday, Lord Lawrence in the chair.

THE VESTRIES AND THE FEE QUESTION.

At the commencement of the sitting a letter was read from the vestry of Shoreditch, referring to a precept recently received by it, and inquiring whether the money asked for was to be used in making payments to denominational schools.

PAYMENT OF FEES IN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Mr. TABRUM (Islington) in rising to continue the debate, said he had no sympathy with any of the attacks which had been made outside the board on denominational, or, as he should prefer to call them, voluntary schools. He could not forget, as Mr. Morley had pointed out, how much the country was indebted to these schools for the education which they had given, and he had no desire to see those schools destroyed; but he hoped they would continue and flourish. He objected to the proposed bye-law on a wider ground than the grounds of objection given: he objected to pay fees, or in any way, directly or indirectly, assisting schools not under the control of the board—excepting, of course, industrial schools. He objected to this payment of fees not so much on religious as on social and economic grounds, for he believed it would be another means of destroying the little self-respect and independence still left among the poor. The board had not only to give children an elementary education, but to train them in principles of self-dependence, and endeavour to eradicate those evil habits which indiscriminate almsgiving and impulsive benevolence had fostered. He wanted to make the parents feel that they were as much bound to provide for the education of their own children as they were to give them food and clothing. It seemed to be coming to pass that the Government or a board was expected to do everything for the people, and the board might depend upon it directly it was found that any class of persons had their children's fees paid for out of the rates, others would want the same, so that the adoption of the principle would be a premium on hypocrisy, idleness, and dependence. He supported the amendment on the broad principles of right and justice, and the intentions of the Act, as stated by Mr. Gladstone on Saturday—"the severance between the application of State funds to controverted matters of religious dispute." [A voice: "Read more."] He believed the amendment to be in accordance with the direct will of the nation, as a means of promoting harmony amongst the members of the board, and as a message of peace to thousands outside—(Hear, hear)—and therefore he should give it his hearty support.

Miss EMILY DAVIES (Greenwich) said the committee expressed great fears lest pauperising should result from the payment of fees. In her opinion, there was more danger of pauperising through remission than through payment, for this simple reason—that the payment of fees was likely to be sedulously watched, and that remission would be less carefully managed. They had already had some exemplifications of the tendency of the bye-law before them, strict regulations being laid down as to the amount which might be paid, while the amount which might be remitted was left to their discretion. She entirely sympathised in the wish of Mr. Tabrum that they had not to pay fees at all; but great encouragement was afforded by the example of Stockport, where, though the notices issued had brought 2,000 additional children to school, the remission was made only in the case of about forty children, or about half per cent. of the whole number in attendance. (Hear, hear.) She hoped that the board would follow the example of Stockport, and not of Manchester. In that case, what they would have to pay would be on the average 2d. a week for a school of 170 children; and it did seem to her that the strictest Nonconformist, or the hottest Protestant, need not be at all afraid of such a contribution to a school, the working expenses of which must amount to something like 300*l.* a year. A great deal had been said in that debate about conscience. They were told, for example, that one man's conscience was as good as another man's. She did not quite concur in that view. They had heard of the conscience being "seared with a red-hot iron," and conscience must certainly be in a very inactive state if it did not lead a parent to send his children to school. But what she objected to was the making it a test of conscience whether a man was in a position to pay school fees or not. A man might have become unable to pay fees for his children, but she could not see that his conscience was the less entitled to respect on that account. (Hear, hear.) When rich people wished to send their children to school they did not talk about their conscience, and about their dogmas, but they were very much influenced by the character of a schoolmaster or schoolmistress, and it seemed to her that they ought to adopt the same kind of principle in the present case. The fact that they could not provide for every kind of individual preference was not a reason for paying no regard whatever to the wishes of parents. Everything human had its limitations, and it did not follow because they could not give an unlimited choice that they ought to give no choice at all. (Hear, hear.) Reference had been made in the discussion to the Moravians at Blackheath. She believed there was no considerable colony of such persons in that locality, probably there were no poor Moravians at all; and, as a representative of the district, she could give the fullest consideration to the feelings of English parents in other parts of the metropolis without feeling at all embarrassed by the peculiar circumstances of the Moravians at Blackheath. (Laughter.)

The Rev. Dr. RIGG (Westminster) said the board had got into its present difficulty by attempting to carry out the Act of Parliament. No one ever objected to Clause 25 when it was before Parliament, and the whole of the cry against it had originated since. He was sorry he felt bound to oppose Mr. Morley's amendment, although he admitted the excellent spirit in which the hon. member's speech was made—a speech that happily entirely separated Mr. Morley from the agitation outside. It was gratifying to remember, also, that many ministers of Mr. Morley's persuasion were against that agitation. Mr. Morley, however, although he thought he was bearing the olive-branch, was not really doing so; his words were the words of Jacob, but his hand was the hand of Esau. (Laughter.) As a fact, Mr. Morley was asking the meeting to do just what the most violent agitator outside wanted. As to payment of fees, let any board bring forward a bye-law which refused to pay, and see whether the Education Department would not disallow it. It was a matter of astonishment to him to hear it said that the denominational schools should be absorbed, change their identity, and be transformed into board schools. He reminded the gentlemen who argued upon the condition of education in America, that the United States schools were not schools of a system at all; they were municipal schools set up on a pretty general pattern. There was, indeed, no such thing as a national system of education in America, and the sooner this was understood the sooner we should get rid of a multitude of fallacies which at present only confused the public mind. It was also a mistake to suppose that a system of compulsion prevailed throughout the United States. The actual attendance in the schools of America was not at all equal to the actual attendance in England; and the success of the Americans as a people, and the extent to which they were educated, depended chiefly upon the circumstances under which the people were born and grew up, and the motives and incentives which were continually operating upon them. Throughout the continent the teaching in the schools was religious as well as

secular; all the schools, with the exception of Holland, were based and founded upon a confessional basis; and, as to Holland, there was no reason for supposing that education there was a remarkable success, for there was great discontent upon that very ground, and a feeling rapidly growing up that denominational schools must be revived if all that ought to be done for education was to be done for it. He maintained, therefore, that it was the best thing that there should be both school board schools and denominational schools in this country; it was better we should not have one formal system of stereotyped schools the whole country cut up into districts, with schools of a certain set pattern planted everywhere. His advice was, to leave the voluntary schools, which had produced seven-eighths of the schools, without slur, to do the work which they had been doing. On Wednesday, Professor Huxley argued that they had no right to force the children of Roman Catholics into schools against which they conscientiously objected, but on Friday the professor refused to allow any sort of relief to Roman Catholics, on the ground of the nature of the Roman Catholic religion and tenets. He wished Professor Huxley were now present to reconcile the matter. (Hear, hear.) Professor Huxley referred to Dr. Döllinger, and the Old Catholic movement in Germany. He (Dr. Rigg) would like to ask how it was there was a Dr. Döllinger in Germany. Upon what principle had Dr. Döllinger been created? Had it been on the principle of refusing in Germany to have anything to do with the education of Roman Catholics as such? On the contrary, it had been by adopting the precisely opposite principle. The system in Germany was and always had been to have confessional schools, both primary and secondary, and of every degree, and it had been in these schools that such men as Dr. Döllinger had been raised and developed; for whilst the Germans had not educated Roman Catholics as Roman Catholics, they at the same time took care that the humanities of instruction should be fully given. Hence the Germans urged that the Roman Catholics ought to have that education which was necessary to them as citizens. The people of Germany had not yielded to Ultramontane demands; but they had yet dealt with Roman Catholic citizens as Roman Catholics; they had not refused to allow that there should be a recognition of their religion, but had combined with it all that went to the development of the man and of the citizen. For the present feeling of suspicion and soreness in regard to the national schools of the Church of England members of that Church had themselves to blame. They had "sown the wind," and were "reaping the whirlwind." When Mr. Reed read an extract from the paper of the National Society the other day he felt that it was a sad and painful thing to listen to. No clergyman on that board could be a party to such advice; and although the paper might be the production of a retired canon, yet so long as it was circulated among the schools of the National Society, so long would it be impossible to do away with the effect of such language. Unless the spirit there evinced was exorcised, nothing could prevent the speedy downfall of the Established Church, and with it the fall of its endowments.

Mr. CURRIE rose to order. There was no question before the board which justified such remarks.

The Rev. Dr. RIGG said he was no enemy of the Establishment; but he could not help making that allusion to the matter. Mr. Reed said there was no choice in this case. He denied that. There were plenty of Church schools in London which were conducted liberally, and he believed a Wesleyan parent would have no difficulty in finding a school of that kind where there was no Wesleyan one. As regarded the Church of Ireland, he might remark that the catchism was taught there, and no one regarded that as a case of conscience. It could not be right or consistent with equity to refuse to remit fees in denominational schools if they were remitted in schools belonging to the board. He did not like the board's doing anything in that case without an adequate majority. (Hear, hear.) They had better do what they could without a ruinous division of opinion than attempt to force on what was sure to cause such a division. He must vote against Mr. Morley's amendment; but he thought that some method of settlement which would leave the question of payment and that of remission on one side for the present would be the best result of that discussion. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. A. PICTON (Hackney) said Dr. Rigg had referred in a very solemn manner to the difficulty under which the board was labouring, and had spoken with that weight which naturally attached to a gentleman of his experience and authority; and he might say that he had ably and successfully shown the fundamental inconsistencies which were at the root of this measure of national education. He had shown also how it was almost impossible but that any school board should find itself involved in serious difficulties. He had the misfortune himself to represent, or at any rate to identify himself with, those who were called the misguided people outside who had raised an agitation on this subject, and he had no desire to detach himself from them, although it was true some of them had expressed themselves with needless violence, as was customary in periods of agitation. Dr. Rigg had said that some of the members did not fairly represent the ministers of religion especially, and the general religious feeling of the denominational bodies to which they were attached. He imagined, however, that Dr. Rigg, who had entered this protest, at any rate did not represent the unanimous feeling of the body with which he was identified, for he understood there were divisions of feeling amongst them; probably more so than was to be found amongst Congregationalists. Speaking himself on behalf of the members of the Congregational Union, who held very strong opinions on this subject, he might say that Mr. Morley's amendment had been accepted almost unanimously by them. Dr. Rigg had asserted that the payment of a fee of twopence could not certainly be designated as a subsidy, but they were told that "many a mickle makes a muckle," and if the fees which would be payable in London amounted to some 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a year, he thought the term "subsidy" might be well employed, and it would go, as Professor Huxley showed, to support the whole system of denominational schools. If "subsidy" meant money paid in aid, then he contended that the amount paid for fees in aid of these schools might properly be called a subsidy. Dr. Rigg had spoken impressively on the difficulty alluded to by Professor Huxley concerning the Catholics. Here he felt he was placed in a somewhat difficult position. He recognised entirely the hardships under which the Catholics laboured under any circumstances under the present Education Act. He had not expressed sympathy with the policy of the board as regarded the religious difficulty, and he believed that the peculiar perplexity that existed now as to the case of the Roman Catholics was due in a great measure to the policy which the board had followed out with regard to religious instruction. Dr. Rigg had said that he would never be the man to stand up and say that the Roman Catholics had not an equal right with others in considering the working of the Act, a d he (Mr. Picton) fully agreed with him, and shoul be sorry to be the man to advocate inequality in the treatment of any sect, whether it was a small heterodox or an orthodox sect, or whether they were believers or unbelievers; and therefore, for his own part, he only saw one way in which the Act could be carried out. He did not think Dr. Rigg had been quite fair—although, of course, he intended to be—in his treatment of the argument brought forward by Professor Huxley. He spoke of Professor Huxley and the Syllabus, and said that the Professor was, in fact, setting up a syllabus of science, but he (Mr. Picton) never heard that science, or any school of science, positively tabooed inquiry, or accused freedom of thought as a crime, or condemned all the lines and tendencies of modern progress. Professor Huxley referred to the possible case of some fifty or sixty Catholics in a neighbourhood where there were only denominational schools, and it was said because they would be forced to go and mingle with the children who were supposed to be Episcopalians, Wesleyans, or Congregationalists, as the case might be, they would be under great disadvantages in mingling with children stamped with a particular denomination. Professor Huxley, looking at the schools of this board as undenominational and unsectarian—which everybody else also maintained they would be—(Hear, hear)—did not think that there was any hardship in Catholics having to attend such schools where children of all sects were to be found, and where none would be distinct from others, and where there was a general unsectarian religious education protected by the time-table conscience clause. With regard to Dr. Döllinger, Dr. Rigg had said that he was educated in Catholic schools, but at any rate he had been taught to rebel against a good deal of Catholicism, and, if that was to be the influence of denominational teaching, many people would rejoice in it. (Hear, hear.) He thought they ought to bear in mind what was strictly the question before them, as the board had wandered from it. The question before them was not whether they should repeal the twenty-fifth clause of the Act, which they had no power to do. It was not that they should register a vow against any possible or conceivable payment under special circumstances to denominational schools. The question was whether they should or should not enter upon their bye-laws a proviso which would bind them to pay to denominational schools not only now, but in all time to come. It was not a practical question with which they were now concerned in the debate on this bye-law, as a question of principle—whether it was right or desirable that the London School Board should pay these fees to denominational schools; and he hoped that in their votes members of the board would remember that this was the point to be voted upon. He conceived that he was only putting the question fairly when he said it was a question of principle and not of practice; but it was perfectly clear, whether the bye-law was passed or not, in every case the option of the board remained intact—that was to say, the twenty-fifth clause would still be in existence whether they decided to pay or not to pay. But if they chose to have the bye-law entered on their books, he believed they would be guilty of inconsistency and of breaking faith with the public if they afterwards refused to put it into operation. Dr. Rigg had said that the twenty-fifth clause was not excepted to in Parliament at all. For this there were several reasons: amongst others there was a distinct understanding given by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 16th of June. Mr. Gladstone said they would sever altogether the tie between the local boards and the voluntary schools, but they would satisfy the engagements they had entered into with the voluntary schools, and whilst proposing that the local boards should cease to have any connection with the voluntary schools, the latter would still remain in the same relation as at present to the Privy Council. After this statement by the Prime Minister, it was not to be wondered at that honourable members allowed the clause to pass, in order to get the bill disposed of. He could conceive some circumstances under which the 25th clause would act fairly and justly, because there were portions of the country where the people were almost unanimously of the same religious opinion, and therefore there would be no injustice, and no objection to fees being paid out of the rates in those places, and there would be no hardship in enforcing compulsion also. But in a large town where there were many divisions of religious opinion, there might be weighty objections against the payment of fees, and the most powerful argument against it was, that they ought not to pay money for work over which they had no control. (Hear, hear.) He contended that they had no right to send children to school if they had no right to inquire how they were getting on, and, if necessary, of removing them to another school. Let it be understood that the payment would not be, as some supposed, a mere fleabite. It was all very well to talk about Stockport, where there was a large number of people and the people earned good wages. The case of Manchester was more analogous to that of London, and there they had had to pay at the rate of four thousand pounds a year, and it was expected that they would soon have to pay six or eight thousand a year. Therefore, as the population of London was considerably more than ten times that of Manchester, it was only a fair thing to suppose that in London they would have to pay at least forty thousand pounds a year in fees to denominational schools, and if they took that large amount out of the rates they would very soon cripple the resources of the board. The importance of the occasion, and the arguments which had been used on the other side compelled him to allude to two other considerations, and, if he referred to the religious question, it was not his fault but the fault of the Act. For his own part, he desired Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Turks, and infidels, to be all on the same footing of equality. The payment of fees to denominational schools had been urged out of consideration, first to the schools themselves, as deserving well of the country, and, secondly, out of consideration for the consciences of parents, and out of consideration for the pockets of the ratepayers. Now as to the schools it was urged that they belonged to great ecclesiastical bodies, and had been raised by considerable sacrifices from private sources, and had supplied a want, and therefore had claims upon the country at the present time. But it was too often forgotten that there were two sides to that question, and that there were others which had claims as well as the supporters of the existing schools, viz., those who in times past by the unequal pressure of our Constitution, and by circumstances to which Dr. Rigg had very properly referred, had been excluded from their due share in the education of the country, and had a right now to some consideration, and had a right also to demand that national education should no longer be a sectarian affair, but that all should have part in it according to their zeal, intelligence, and the burdens they had to bear as ratepayers. He spoke on behalf of such memorialists as had addressed the board, and he maintained that past history justified them in demanding guarantees that there should be no partiality shown towards denominational schools of any class whatever. Let it be remembered that very early in this century a society for national education was constructed on strict unsectarian principles. As early as 1805 Joseph Lancaster gathered around him some friends and founded the Lancasterian Society, laying it down as a fundamental principle that no creeds or catechisms should be taught in schools, but that all children should have equal rights there. A few years afterwards the National Society was started with a different constitution. Assuming that as the nation had a national religion it was the first duty of those who took an interest in the instruction of children to see that the first and chief consideration was that religion should be taught by means of catechisms and liturgies; they insisted in all their schools, so far as he had received information, that all children should receive religious instruction if they were to have secular instruction at all; and from the beginning of the century until now, no attempt had been made to carry out a truly broad national system of instruction—for whether in the case of Whitbread, or Brougham in 1820, or Graham in 1843, it had always been the overwhelming claims of one great sect which had destroyed the chances of national education. He must say then that something was due to those who were thrust out of the competition to educate the people. It might be said, in modern times the conscience clause had been adopted—they all knew how long it was resisted—(Hear, hear)—but he could not for one moment believe, that the conscience clause, as carried out at the present day, was a fair and proper protection for the religion of children. Only the other day he received a letter from a gentleman connected with the great schools at Faversham, stating that they had felt no difficulty whatever in the matter of sectarianism, and he quoted from one of the reports, which said:—"The sectarian difficulty at Faversham is completely got over by a liberal conscience clause. Religion is taught on the broad principles of Christianity, with the Church catechism; though any parent sending a written objection may have his child excluded from such instruction. The consequence is that only some half-dozen have availed themselves of this privilege in the last dozen years, though more than half the

(*Continued on page* 1075.)

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1871.

SUMMARY.

THE cordial reception of the Prime Minister at Greenwich, so unexpectedly enthusiastic, is the great political event of the week. Mr. Gladstone came, saw, and conquered. By dint of his courage and eloquence he won over a vast and not altogether friendly audience to his side, and added to his other laurels a signal success as an outdoor orator. That some 10,000 or 15,000 persons, not a few of whom must have been injured by the economic policy of the Government, or have entertained political prejudices against the Premier, should have calmly listened to his long speech, and in the end passed a vote of confidence in the member for Greenwich almost without visible dissent, was an event of great importance. The reaction in favour of Mr. Gladstone has set in. It is seen in the angry comments of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—more bitter than those of the *Standard*—not less than in the altered tone of the *Times* and the volunteered patronage of Mr. Odger. In no week during the recess have so many M.P.'s addressed their constituents as in that which has just closed. We have not space to characterise them beyond the general remark that the criticism of the policy and acts of the Government is less severe than three months ago, and that even Conservative members seem to have abated their party opposition.

The lengthened debates in the London School Board are verging to a close, and seem likely to end in an amicable arrangement on the denominational fee question which will hardly be palatable to the Education Department—or shall we say, would have been a few weeks ago. For a reaction has set in at Whitehall as well as at Greenwich. We learn that an important correspondence has taken place between Mr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, one of the hon. secretaries to the Central Nonconformist Committee, and the Endowed School Commissioners, in regard to the appointment of clergy as *ex officio* governors of endowed schools. On Sept. 23rd Mr. Dale wrote inquiring whether the commissioners had declared their intention to withdraw the clause providing for *ex officio* clerical governors in schemes which had not then received the sanction of Parliament; and whether the clauses which were alleged to be in contravention of the Act would remain in the schemes which had already passed. To this letter the following satisfactory reply has been received through the Endowed Schools Commission, which had referred the matter to the judgment of the Education Department:—

(Copy.)
Education Department,
Whitehall, London, S.W., Oct. 19, 1871.

DODDINGTON ENDOWED SCHOOL.

SIR,—Adverting to your letter of the 3rd of August last, and to the scheme which accompanied it, relating to the above-named school, I am directed to state that the Committee of Council on Education, having been advised that the bishop of a diocese, the dean of a cathedral, or the vicar of a parish, cannot consistently with Section 17 of the Endowed Schools Act be appointed an *ex officio* governor of any educational endowment to which the provisions of Section 19 of the Act do not apply, disapprove the scheme submitted to them in this case, on the ground that it contains the appointment of the Rector of Doddington as an *ex officio* governor.

The file of correspondence is herewith returned.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) F. S. SANDFORD.

The Secretary, Endowed Schools Commission,
2, Victoria-street, S.W.

It appears that the Doddington scheme here referred to was the only one at the time *sub judice*, but we suppose that the decision of the department will apply in all future cases. "Better late than never." Still we must remark, as is stated in the useful "Occasional Paper" of the Central Nonconformist Committee, in respect of forty endowed school schemes already sanctioned, that in no less than thirty-six the parish clergyman has been appointed an *ex officio* governor; and, as is now admitted, in violation of the Act. As to schemes which have already passed into law, the Endowed School Commissioners state that they "have no control over them, except that by Section 44 of the Endowed Schools Act, they are empowered to pass amending schemes. This is a process involving the same formalities as an original scheme, and the commissioners will be very reluctant to undertake it to the inevitable postponement of other pressing business, except when asked by those who are working the schemes to remedy proved defects." This reply is truly official. We have no manner of doubt that if it had not been for the praiseworthy vigilance of the Central Nonconformist Committee, this much-praised Act of Parliament would have continued to be carried out for the aggrandisement of the State Church, and in express violation of the spirit of Clause 17.

The result of the late elections of Councils-General seems to have induced President Thiers to make an important speech, in reply to an address from one of these local bodies, in which he said:—"France has entrusted me with the Republic, and I am endeavouring to preserve it by the ideas of order and legality, which are reassuring to Europe. I am more Republican than those who call themselves Republican, and who make of the Republic an object of anxiety and dread, and I address myself to Republicans when I say, 'Help me to establish the Republic by means of order, and do not expose the French nation to the chance of being regarded as a nation which is incompetent to govern itself!" These words have as much pleased the Liberal party in France as they have discouraged those who are eager for a restoration of the Monarchy. The Republic will, however, be hardly consolidated in popular esteem by the extravagant expenditure on which the President has entered for creating central arsenals, and maintaining the army on a war footing. But M. Thiers' Protectionist tendencies are giving way under the pressure of necessity. His proposed scale of high duties has already been greatly modified, and now we learn that he is ready to continue the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce with very slight modifications.

The protracted struggle at Vienna has terminated in the triumph of Count von Beust and Count Andrassy, the opponents of the claims of Bohemia to an autonomy analogous to that of Hungary. The Ultramontanes and feudalists are in great dismay at this failure of an intricate intrigue which they have promoted for their own purposes. The Hohenwart Cabinet has resigned, and the Emperor of Austria has reluctantly parted with Ministers for whom he had a great personal liking, but whom he could not uphold without danger to the constitution. Possibly Baron Schmerling will be again called to the Imperial councils, to complete the constitutional work which he initiated. The Austrian Germans breathe freely, but how the Czechs will bear the frustration of their hopes has yet to be seen.

Among the interesting items of American news we learn that Mr. Tweed, the wire-puller of the Tammany faction, has been arrested on charges connected with the New York city frauds, and that the committee of seventy have accumulated evidence amply sufficient to convict the gang of plunderers who have been living upon the municipal funds. The Republicans have carried the elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iowa, by increased majorities—thus virtually ensuring the re-election of President Grant in 1872. Brigham Young, indicted in the Federal Court at Utah, with other Mormons, for a murder some years ago, has fled, and one of his chief colleagues has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment on being convicted of adultery.

MR. GLADSTONE AT GREENWICH.

THE announcement that Mr. Gladstone had agreed to address his constituents at Greenwich on Saturday last, put the whole country on the tiptoe of expectation. What was likely to be the character of his reception, upon what political topics he would descant, what glimpses he would show of his future policy, and what judgment the electors of Greenwich would pass upon him, were questions upon which, in the sterility of the dead season, the organs of public opinion freely, and sometimes with some lack of courtesy, remarked. The event has come off. The speech, to which it may be said the civilised world listened with interest, has been spoken, and the result has been, at least so far as the relations of the Premier to the borough of Greenwich are concerned, a perfect success.

What was it that excited this general curiosity, this wide-spread and even anxious interest, in reference to the meeting of Mr. Gladstone with his constituents? It cannot have been that their verdict, whatever it might be, would seriously affect the Parliamentary position of the Prime Minister. Still less could it have been the public desire to witness the copious outflow of that eloquence which it might be safely taken for granted would distinguish such a special occasion. With Mr. Gladstone's marvellous fecundity of speech, with his sonorous oratory, with his fulness and accuracy of political knowledge, with his earnestness and conscientiousness of purpose, the country is already familiar. It was not to any fresh display of his transcendant powers that public expectation was chiefly directed. Had Mr. Gladstone addressed his constituents at the close of the session of 1870, he would have secured, as he always must do, the respectful and admiring attention of the nation, and there would have been an end of it. But it has been generally felt that the course of Parliamentary affairs during the last session was such as, whether on sufficient or insufficient grounds, to loosen public confidence in the stability of his administration. The idea had got abroad that the career of the great statesman who had achieved such magnificent marvels of legislation in 1869 and 1870, had culminated, and that signs might be detected of those political infirmities which precede the not distant disruption of party ties. It was this feeling which led to the infusion of so much excited sentiment into the prospect of an otherwise common-place character.

As regards Mr. Gladstone's relation to his constituents, his vindication of himself was complete. Perhaps, it was even fuller than the occasion really demanded. As a review of the general course of the statesmanship which he has directed since his accession to office, it must be looked upon as at least a great oratorical exploit. The topics touched upon are of such deep and widespread interest, the manner in which they were presented was so logical and lucid, the explanations given of them were so candid and even generous, the spirit which breathed through them was so sincere and loyal, and the transition from one question to another was so rapid and yet so unbroken, that by the time one has got to the end of his speech, one's independence of judgment appears to have melted away as if by magic, and most of the conclusions that before he began were thought to have been over and over again established upon a firm basis of fact and principle, are submerged beneath the flowing tide of his rhetoric. Perhaps, there are few men in the kingdom whose views of the Government now in office have not been favourably modified by Mr. Gladstone's speech. This effect has been accomplished, not by any direct argumentative attack upon the convictions of those who have differed with him, especially of those who, while witnessing with deep concern some features of his policy, still number themselves amongst his adherents, but by taking them round to a standpoint from which they may see the general proportions of his work, as a whole, and at which they lose sight of the points on which they differ. It is not surprising that, owing to this alteration of position, things should assume to a not unfriendly, but somewhat doubting spectator, an appearance of grandeur, harmony, and finish which some of them, at least, failed to exhibit when looked at separately, and criticised directly rather than relatively. The historical aspect of a policy consisting of several important features, is one which, doubtless, it is proper, on due occasions, to contemplate. But, after all, it has to be borne in mind that the true business of legislators is with each part as it arises, and that it would be an error in them to disparage the soundness of their own convictions with regard to each part, merely because there are points from which their work, seen as a

whole, will probably command the applauding verdict of history.

We make the foregoing remarks in no carping spirit. We have no intention, as we have no desire, of insinuating that the speech of the Prime Minister on Saturday last made any unfair use of rhetorical artifice, for we have yielded ourselves up to the impression it was intended to make, with a sense of self-indulging enjoyment, for the time being at least. We take real delight in gazing upon that superb edifice of legislation which has arisen under the presiding genius of the greatest statesman of modern times. But, in spite of immediate pleasure, we cannot obliterate from our minds all those records of fact and experience which, in their aggregate effect, leave a somewhat less satisfactory impression of the things said and done by the Gladstone Cabinet during the last eighteen months. We are willing to believe that, so far as the past can be rectified by the future, there exists some disposition on the part of the Premier to gratify the anxious wishes of no small number of his friends. So far his speech is not without its pleasant auguries, and we must cheerfully admit that, in the long run, his performances have usually exceeded his pledges. But we are bound to confess that, on the whole, the proximate future does not show a very perceptible change in appearance under the glow which has been thrown upon it by the First Minister's intellectual light and fervour. We should have been glad to have been able to look forward with more hope of pleasod co-operation with him than we are afraid he has given us warrant for. Perhaps, however, it is best as it is. Self-reliance and self-sacrifice constitute the two great elements of political success. Upon them it is always possible to fall back with assured confidence. At any rate, they bring with them their own reward.

It is but just to all parties to observe that a speech to constituents, delivered under circumtances such as those which surrounded Mr. Gladstone on Saturday, however successful a vindication it may be of the past, can hardly be expected to contain within it a fair measure of the future. Mr. Gladstone's intentions may be much clearer, much more definite, much more in accordance with certain well-understood and accepted principles, than it was proper, or even possible, for him to give adequate expression to in his Blackheath speech. That he is still a progressive reformer is sufficiently evident. That he still desires to lead the Liberal party to further legitimate political conquests one may discern in the tone of all that he has uttered, and in the drift of all the arguments he has employed. Those who follow him may be grateful for such a leader, and, we may add, such a leader is bound to be considerate towards his followers. There may be culpable mistrust on the one side as well as on the other. The leader may shape his plans rather with a view to avert the opposition of enemies than to conciliate the support of friends, and those who follow his lead may sometimes imagine that they have been left out of consideration, when, as a matter of fact, the strength and earnestness of their convictions were only underrated. There must be some concession on all sides, and we are not without some hope, though it is but faint, that Mr. Gladstone's speech at Greenwich may be interpreted as an indication that the Cabinet over which he presides will hereafter take into account whence it sprang, and by whose concurrence it is upheld, as well as how it may soothe the fears and indulge the prejudices of those who repudiate all spontaneous sympathy with Liberal ideas.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD DEBATE.

We have given in our present number what some of our readers may regard as inordinate space to the report of the discussions in the London School Board on the two questions of compulsion and the payment of denominational fees. It cannot, however, be denied that the controversy on the subject is of the gravest importance, nor, although many provincial boards have come to an early and somewhat precipitate decision in the matter, that the principles involved in these questions are of such consequence that the most anxious consideration is necessary in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The London Board has already expended a week in the discussion, and almost every argument that could be advanced on either side has been stated. Any one who has read the somewhat meagre summaries of the daily papers, or is disposed to address himself to the extended reports of the speeches we have given elsewhere, must feel that this long debate has not been thrown away. It is beginning to be felt by the secular press that far more is involved in this controversy than the narrowness or jealousy of Dissent, and it is confessed on all sides that the question does not now occupy the same position as it did a week ago. Slowly but surely the truth is beginning to dawn upon the minds of all sections of educationists that if the payment of denominational fees is recognised as a principle, and carried out in practice, Mr. Forster's Act will be shipwrecked before it is fairly put in operation.

For us to contend that the great weight of argument throughout these debates has been on the side we support might expose us to a charge of partiality. Still it says something for the inherent justice of our cause that it has been successfully vindicated, just in proportion as it has been rigidly examined. False pleas have been met, false issues stopped; and those who would hear of nothing else but driving the children of the poor into the sectarian schools, to be kept there to a great extent at the cost of the ratepayers, are now at length obliged to listen approvingly to the reasonable advice of a moderate Churchman like Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, M.P., who advises the members of the State-Church "to be content with the excellent terms which they have obtained in the statute of last year, for they have got fifty per cent. advantage, their schools occupy the ground, and they have the greatest wealth of the community on their side." "If Church teaching," the hon. member added, "is worth having, it is worth paying for; while it would be unwise to drive their Dissenting friends to contribute against their will." This has not been the spirit in which the Education Department has been carrying out the provisions of the Act, nor has it been the fashion in which the majorities of *one* in some of the principal school boards of the country—majorities obtained only by the dexterous manipulation of the cumulative vote—have endeavoured to ride rough-shod over their colleagues, and the mass of Liberal opinion in their respective districts.

The friends of religious justice and equality are very greatly indebted to the Liberal and Nonconformist members of the London School Board for their able and courageous advocacy of what seemed but yesterday a discredited, if not a defeated, cause. It has been abundantly shewn during this debate that the question at issue is neither narrow nor trivial, but one of great magnitude, and very far-reaching in its consequences. It has been clearly established that the payment of fees out of the rates for denominational schools, if permitted by the Education Act, was not contemplated by the Prime Minister when the bill was under discussion; that the children on whose behalf these fees are demanded are not the really indigent, who are otherwise provided for, but those who are in circumstances to meet the liability; that to give effect to such a bye-law as has been proposed would be, as Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., says, "to make parents forget their parental duties," and to foster a pauperising spirit, by making it the interest of denominational school managers to canvass for *quasi*-indigent scholars; that for school boards to undertake to fill up these schools is altogether extraneous to the primary purpose for which they were created; that the argument founded on the conscience rights of the pauper is, when pushed to its legitimate extent, impossible to carry out in practice and a *reductio ad absurdam;* and that for school boards to vote away the rates without having an iota of control over their proper expenditure, is an innovation unknown to the British Constitution.

These considerations were strengthened by others of a less theoretical character. Without doubt the board had Ireland as well as England in view during these discussions. The resolutions of the Irish Catholic prelates on education, as well as Professor Huxley's impressive description of the blighting influence of Ultramontanism, must have made many a denominationalist shrink from the policy he was disposed to favour. Moreover, whilst ample justice was done to the educational zeal of the Church of England clergy, it was impossible to conceal that their supremacy has been generally used to promote sectarian as well as religious ends. It was a Wesleyan (Mr. M'Arthur) who gave the most weighty testimony on this point, and who called a brace of bishops into the witness-box. The telling quotation by Mr. Reed, M.P., from the official organ of the National Society, urging the paramount necessity of using the Church schools as a means of promoting Church purposes, could not be weakened by any isolated repudiation of such a policy by Prebendary Thorold, who disdains such devices; while the specific statements made by the Rev. J. A. Picton as to the way in which this educational machinery is perverted in order to fill Church Sunday-schools, can be sustained by overwhelming evidence from all parts of the country.

If it required a week's debate in the London School Board to arrive at just conclusions on this important question, that time has not been lost. The supporters of denominational education may still adhere to their original abstract views, but they are being convinced by the logic of events. There are many others besides Professor Huxley who have reached the conclusion that a premature application of the principle of compulsion—before even a single brick of a new school to supply educational deficiencies has been placed—would defeat the object in view; and although the board have by a majority of one reaffirmed that principle, they hesitate to apply it, when the manifest result will be to fill up the denominational schools with indigent children at the expense of the ratepayers. Dr. Rigg is ready candidly to admit that when parties are so equally divided it will be impossible for the advocates of this new and untried policy, though perhaps slightly in the ascendant, to give effect to their views without endangering the object they all have at heart. Day by day this conviction has been gaining ground among the members of the educational Parliament of London. Those who eagerly desire the application of rates for denominational school purposes, and those who are indifferent on the subject, are verging towards the conclusion that the board should not be committed to a principle which will embarrass if not frustrate its specific work. The debate may be protracted a day or two longer, but after yesterday's discussion, it can hardly be doubted that a substantial agreement has been reached. A withdrawal of the 8th bye-law, and of Mr. Morley's amendment objecting to the payment of fees in denominational schools, would leave the board free for the future. This solution—compromise if you will—is accepted in principle on all sides—by Mr. W. H. Smith, and Dr. Barry as well as by Mr. Morley, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Picton—and the difference is now almost narrowed down to the question of putting the general opinion into the least objectionable phraseology.

It is useless to conceal that this satisfactory issue would not have been brought about but for the vigorous and persistent, though to themselves disagreeable, agitation of Nonconformists. Their eloquent and faithful representatives on the London Board would have been comparatively powerless in warding off a disastrous decision but for the pressure from without. "Forty legions" at their back gave additional weight to the arguments of the Liberal members of the board. The tacit, if not as yet formal decision of the London Board marks the turn of the tide. We cannot say that the slender majorities—imperious in inverse proportion to their relative strength—of the School Boards of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and many other large towns, will follow this excellent example, and retrace their steps. But if not, it will be incumbent on Parliament to intervene and give legislative effect to Mr. Gladstone's pledge on the subject. The plain truth is—and it is recognised by both sides in this controversy—the Education Act cannot be made to work until the 25th Clause is repealed or greatly modified. The sooner the needful change is made the more easily and quickly will the objects for which the statute was enacted be realised.*

THE SLAVE EMPIRE OF SOUTH AMERICA.

It is announced that the bill enacting the emancipation of slaves in Brazil passed the Senate on the 27th of September, by 33 votes against 4; that the result was greeted with loud cheering; and that the Government at once addressed a circular to the provincial authorities directing them to carry out the provisions of the new law. We should deeply regret to do an injustice to Brazil now that she is in a penetential mood, or to detract from the grace of an act with which the name of the Emperor is more particularly identified. But lest our readers should be under the impression that the Brazilian measure renders full justice to an oppressed race, and that hereafter no such institution as slavery will exist in the dominions of Don Pedro, we must think less of the susceptibilities of newly awakened slaveholders than of the supreme interests of truth. It is therefore our duty to inform our readers that the so-called Act of Emancipation does not emancipate the slaves,

* Since the above was written, Mr. Morley has offered to withdraw his amendment, and Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., has proposed, with the assent of many members on both sides, the following resolution:—"That bye-law 8 be withdrawn, and that the board do resolve that the remission of payment of fees in public elementary schools be made exceptionally in cases where there was proof of urgent and temporary necessity, each case to be dealt with on its own merits without prejudice to the principles insisted on upon either side." There is little doubt that this proposal, after some further modification, will be accepted at to-day's sitting of the board.

and that Brazil is entitled to no expression of public gratitude for what she has done.

It is true that the pro-slavery party are said to be furious against the policy of the Viscomte Roi do Branca, the Bismarck of Brazil. They are furious because any step in the direction of freedom excites their blind and relentless hostility. Yet the Brazilian Minister is probably the best friend they ever had. He is wise enough to read the signs of the times; for, although reading them, he has yet been able to make a compromise with iniquity. The Emperor was pledged in the face of the whole world to abolish slavery; while his son-in-law, the Count d'Eu, had somewhat ostentatiously asked the President of Paraguay to liberate the slaves of that country, who, if they were enslaved at all, were enslaved in violation of Paraguayan law. Had Paraguay been still under either the elder or the younger Lopez, the Count d'Eu would have been recommended to look at home, where slavery in its most cruel forms was and is upheld by the laws of the Empire. No doubt the Emperor, who is now visiting the principal countries of Europe, would like to be *en rapport* with the public opinion of the civilised world; while it is no less probable that his astute Minister fancies he has discovered a way by which the two principles of good and evil may be effectually served at the same time. In reality, while the Brazilian Chambers have passed what is called an Act of Emancipation, just as the Spanish Cortes have passed a similar Act, slavery is no more abolished in Brazil than it is in Cuba. Philanthropists are invited to crown the Emperor as a public benefactor, but they have been too often deceived in times past to render it all probable that they will perform on the present occasion so singularly inopportune an act of homage.

The bill which has just become law declares that all children who are born after the date of its passing shall be free. If this declaration were made without any qualifying conditions we might, at any rate, be thankful that the new generation would grow up in the enjoyment of personal freedom. But these children are to remain under the authority of their owners until they are eight years old, when the owners will be entitled to elect between retaining their services until they are twenty-one, or receiving compensation for their immediate manumission. Thus even as respects children born after the Act comes into operation the actual abolition of slavery in Brazil is indefinitely postponed; while the existing race of slaves are still doomed to perpetual bondage. Freedom is either a right inherent in the man, or it is a privilege which the stronger may confer at pleasure upon the weak, or withhold altogether. That it is a privilege, dependent upon mere human caprice, no right-minded person will venture to assert; but if it be a right, Brazil by perpetuating the enslavement of her living chattels—by shutting out from them all hope of freedom—is guilty of a crime against justice and morality. Until the Brazilian Government has passed a much more satisfactory measure than the one upon which it is our duty to pronounce an adverse judgment, we hope that our Foreign Secretary, whose predecessor was so prompt to felicitate the Count d'Eu on his very cheap humanity, will withhold those congratulations which the real—although not the sham—abolition of slavery in Brazil might justly call forth.

It has been said that Virginia was a paradise for slaves compared with Cuba or Brazil. "Some touch of softness in the lord, some gleam of pity in the mistress, had sufficed to keep the very worst planters of English blood free from the brutalities which were daily practised in the Spanish and Portugese cities farther south." Generally speaking, we are indisposed to attach importance to such comparisons, because slavery, wherever it exists, is necessarily and inherently "the sum of all villanies"; but the strong language we have quoted is, at all events, justified by the excessive mortality of the slave population, both in Cuba and in Brazil. There is no doubt that in the latter country especially, the slaves are a dying race. Since the importation of African negroes has been prohibited, the chattel labourers have steadily declined in numbers, even to the extent, as some writers allege, of a diminution from four millions to two. How is this sterility to be accounted for? Why is it that the deaths of slaves in Brazil vastly outnumber the births? What is it that threatens in that empire the extinction of the most prolific race in the world? Brazilian statisticians shed no light upon the anomaly; but the anti-slavery party in Brazil know full well that slavery, with its gigantic physical and moral enormities, is responsible for the rapid decay of a people who, if the laws of nature were not habitually violated, would multiply and grow vigorous and healthy in that land of the sun. Moreover, Captain Burton, although he is a courageous defender of slavery, as well as of polygamy, candidly admits that it has done incalculable injury to Brazil by rendering labour disreputable, and by creating a class of idlers and vagabonds more worthless than the "mean whites" of the Southern States. It therefore follows that while the servile "hewers of wood and drawers of water" are being gradually exterminated, the labour market, suffering from the curse of slavery, paralyses the energies and enervates the character of the only class in Brazil which could fill up the gap and ensure the continued prosperity of the country. Compare these facts with the last American census returns, which show an increase of 438,000 in the number of coloured people in the United States, and complete the comparison by noting the greatly augmented production of cotton under a system of free labour.

The truth is that there can be no hope for the future of Brazil unless she follows closely the example of the great Republic. There must be no spurious Acts of Emancipation, but a complete putting away of the evil which has debauched her politics and made her position an odious one among the States of South America. The moral obliquity which led her to crush Paraguay, and to all but blot out that unfortunate State from the map of the world, has instigated a measure which, under pretence of abolishing slavery, actually gives it a new lease of life.

SCOTLAND.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

GLASGOW, October 30, 1871.

At the last meeting of the Free Church Presbytery, an overture for the General Assembly, advocating comprehensive Presbyterian union on the basis of the Free Church claim of rights, was moved by a member of the Begg and Gibson party, and by a majority rejected. In the course of the debate, Professor Rainy, one of the foremost leaders of the Liberal party, declared most soundly that "comprehensive union of the Presbyterianism of Scotland was attainable only by disestablishment." Dr. Begg, on the contrary, maintained "that it had been always voluntaryism, and not the Established Church, which stood in the way of such a union," and that "if established churches were pulled down the nobility would fall, and the throne would follow." Unhappy Dr. Begg, to have fallen on such evil times and tongues!

The Church of Scotland has evinced of late a strong liking for statistics. Like the small creature in the fable, she would fain distend herself to abnormal dimensions, and statistics of peculiar construction are the stretcher she uses for this end. The result is, bursting, if not for herself, at least for her figures. They have been taken up by unceremonious Dissenting hands, and thrown into hopeless disarray. The subject is one of great interest, and shall be noticed by us without delay.

A stout and interesting battle is being fought at Edinburgh by the lady medical students, who are conducting it with admirable spirit and address. Their documents and entire action are marked by ability and all due delicacy, and bid fair to triumph. Foremost in the phalanx is Miss Jex Blake. A lawsuit in which she was cast, with a farthing damages, drawing after it expenses of nearly a thousand pounds, has evoked a noteworthy expression of sympathy. The whole expenses have been subscribed for, and 112*l.* more, which was presented the other day to Miss Blake at a meeting in the Edinburgh Council Chambers, over which the Lord Provost presided. Miss Blake handed over the surplus to a fund she was promoting for establishing an hospital for women.

The high character and position of the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., of Bombay, late Moderator of the Free Church, invests with more than common-place interest the farewell breakfast and presentation given to him at Edinburgh, ten days ago (on the 18th), on the eve of his return to India. His present furlough of nearly two years has been one of incessant activity, being occupied, in addition to his duties as Moderator, which are by no means light, with preaching and missionary engagements in all parts of Scotland. On his previous visit, a quarter of a century ago, he had a like-minded wife to cheer and aid him, who died after twenty-one years of devoted service. He has now taken his departure alone; and, though aged, and worn with the toils of forty years under the burning sun of India, he departs to resume his missionary labours with the view of returning no more. He is a profound Oriental scholar, and voluminous author. In reply to the presentation of his portrait—which is to remain at the Free Church College Hall in Edinburgh—he said that the public discussions to which from the first he was challenged by the Brahmins and other priests, led him to devote special attention to the language and subtle philosophy of the East, with the best results on his missionary influence, and with no thought of the academic honours that afterwards flowed in upon him. Nor did these studies prevent him from undertaking many perilous missionary excursions, and even penetrating untrodden forests, and preaching to savage tribes there. During his entire career in Bombay, he has been prominent in every good work, religious, social, educational, literary, or scientific. It was he who originated some of the higher class institutes that have proved such a blessing both to natives and Europeans; for he always advocated their consociation on equal terms. He was first president, and then honorary president, of the Royal Asiatic Society, an office held only by other two, one of these being Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the society. At the formation of the Bombay University in 1857, he was drawn into its services and honours, and in 1868 was appointed its vice-chancellor—an honour never till then accorded to any outside the official circle. He has been well known and highly esteemed by the various governors; one of whom, Sir Bartle Frere, testified to "the extraordinary variety and value of his services to India," and as having "done more" in this respect "than any man he knew."

Epitome of News.

It is expected that the Queen will hold a council at Balmoral on Friday next, the 3rd of November.

Her Majesty has greatly improved in health during the past week, and is now spending a few days at the Glassalt Sheil, a change of air and scene having been considered desirable.

Great preparations have been made at Scarborough for the reception of the Prince and Princess of Wales this week. Their Royal Highnesses, who arrived Wednesday evening, are the guests of Lord Londesborough.

The Prince Imperial is in King's College School. He is under Professor Adams, and is studying mechanics.

Lord Dufferin's new title is to be Earl of Dufferin.

The Count Davilier again writes from Chislehurst in rejoinder to a correspondent of the *Times* to reassert that the Emperor Napoleon never did write to his Ministers the saying attributed to him that he would only return to Paris dead or victorious. After the battle of Woerth he simply sent these words:—"Il faut élever nos âmes à la hauteur des circonstances," that is to say, "We must rise to the occasion."

More than 2,100*l.* was on Monday received at the Mansion-house in aid of the Chicago Relief Fund, which now amounts to 44,837*l.* Her Majesty has subscribed 500*l.*, and the Prince and Princess of Wales 250 guineas to the fund.

The Birmingham Conference on the reform of the House of Lords, originally intended to be held in November, is now definitely fixed for the 6th of December, in order to avoid interference with other local events.

The strike in the Forest of Dean has terminated and the colliers have returned to work.

The trial of Kelly for murdering Head-Constable Talbot is proceeding in Dublin. There were great crowds around the court on Thursday, and there was an imposing display of military. Great difficulty was found in getting a jury.

We are happy to learn that the foot-and-mouth disease has almost entirely disappeared from Ireland.

A telegram from Australia, bearing date "Melbourne, October 10," states that "Important witnesses in the Tichborne case proceed to England by the present mail." The mail will not reach England till the end of November.

The trade dispute at Blackburn has been terminated; and Messrs. Pilkington having made a concession to their men, the latter will resume work.

The nine hours' system has been generally adopted in the ironfounding, engineering, and machine trades of Bradford and Halifax, and throughout the North of England.

A disastrous colliery explosion is reported from Seaham. There were thirty-three men and boys in the pit at the time, and no hope exists of any of them being alive.

A shocking tragedy has been discovered a short distance from Bolton. A man named Thomas Davis, fifty-two years of age, strangled his wife, and then committed suicide.

The Government Eclipse Expedition, under the charge of Mr. Lockyer, has left Southampton in the Mirzapore. The arrangements were all completed, and everything was shipped safely.

Earl Brownlow, the Lord of Ashridge, near Berkhamstead, has presented to the Berkhamstead Working Men's Club the works of Charles Dickens complete. Mr. W. Longman had previously made the club a valuable presentation of books.

NEW BOOKS.—Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's announcements include the following:—Across the Ferry, being impressions of America and its People, by James Macaulay, M.A., M.D., Edinburgh, editor of the *Leisure Hour*; The Higher Ministry of Nature, viewed in the light of modern science and of Christian faith, by J. R. Leifchild, A.M.; Professor Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, edited by Noah Porter, L.L.D., and David Philip Schaff, D.D.; The Sunday Afternoon, fifty-two brief sermons for home reading, by J. Baldwin Brown, B.A.; Professor Reuss's History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age, translated by Annie Harwood, and edited by R. W. Dale, M.A.; Crumbs Swept Up, by T. De Witt Talmage, of Brooklyn; Bible Music, being variations in many keys on musical themes from Scripture, by the Rev. Francis Jacox, B.A.; and a second series of Secular Annotations on Scripture Texts, by the same author.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

(*Continued from Page* 1071)

school-children are not of the Church of England. This will be seen from the following table, giving the number of each denomination in May last:—Church of England, 489; Wesleyan, 214; Baptist, 63; Independent, &c., 212; Roman Catholic, 1." But supposing they were all Baptists—and at any rate 63 of them were—the managers of that school expected them to recite the solemn words of baptism, "in which they were made children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven," and afterwards in an answer proving the righteousness of infant baptism, the children would convict their parents of heresy! He did not think that was a fair way of carrying out the conscience clause. If such doctrines were taught at all, ought not the managers of schools to ascertain for themselves the creed of the children, for it was a mere mockery to teach them that which their parents must necessarily disapprove? If it were said that they might have taken advantage of the conscience clause, of course they might, but it only showed that they had no power over the religious instruction they received. In regard to the second point, viz., the conscience of the parent, what did that mean? Did it mean, "If I cannot pay for the education of my child, I have a right to claim from the State that my own conscientious conviction on the doctrines of religion shall be taught at the State's expense"? That had been shown to be altogether impracticable. There might not be another man probably of his (Mr. Picton's) own religious opinions. (Laughter.) Therefore it would be utterly impossible. Did it mean what was generally considered to be signified by a conscientious right? He did not suppose that that was generally meant. What was generally meant by conscience in this case was "that as a matter of favour you ought to give the parent the right to send his child to a school of which he could approve of religious teaching." But if it was only a matter of favour, the ratepayer's conscience would come in and say, "You shall not give a favour to a man who cannot insist upon it as a right at the expense of my conscience." Besides this, although they all felt that the representatives of the great ecclesiastical body on that board—who would be an honour to any communion in the world—had announced the most liberal sentiments, he could not now help saying that such a claim came with a very bad grace indeed from a denomination or Church (whichever name was preferred), the large majority of whose representatives, down to a very recent period, absolutely refused to have the conscience clause—(cries of "No, no!")—and insisted that if the children were to be taught at all they should also learn the Church catechism. ("No, no.") In early life he was a Sunday-school teacher, and over and over again his heart was grieved by the little ones coming, with tears in their eyes, and saying, "Teacher, we cannot come here any more." "Why not?" "Because we must go to a national school. There is no other school to go to, and we cannot come on Sunday, because if we go there on the week-day we must go there on the Sunday." That was a fact, and occurred in a village near Liverpool. After such things had been practised down to a recent period, he confessed his wonder that any representatives of the Church could say much about the claims of the parents' consciences. (Hear, hear.) Besides this, there was a view of the subject taken by Dr. Barry, than whom no gentleman on the board was more tender of the susceptibilities of others, and that gentleman maintained the other day that there was no hardship in compelling a child to go to a sectarian school when he was protected by the conscience clause; while at another time it was maintained that the board had positively no right to send a child to a school where the religion of the parent was not taught. He felt that such a claim could not be enforced, and if they persisted in such arguments as these, there could only be one issue, which speaking personally, he should be glad to see. With regard to the ratepayer's conscience, he would only refer the board, without any words of his own, to the memorial which they had read from the meeting in Cannon-street, and if gentlemen would be so good as to study with candid attention paragraph 8 in that memorial, they would see it distinctly proved that it was impossible that the board could save a single penny—the number of schools to be erected being a positively fixed quantity, although not perhaps yet ascertained. On the other hand, if something was due to the ratepayer's pocket, he maintained that there was something due to the unmistakeable demand of the country, though even made blindly and inconsistently, for truly national education. We had dealt generously as a nation with sectarian schools, as did the amendment, which said, "Let us give up the trifling points that divide us, let us work together, let us take the 14th section of the Act and the 25th together, and there will be no difficulty." There was also something due, as Professor Huxley had urged, to the peaceful prosecution of their great work. If they wanted to get rid of irritating questions, they could only do so by deciding them in the direction of the movement of public opinion. No one who read aright the signs of the times could suppose for one moment that it endorsed this Clause 25, or that the proposed bye-law could settle the question. They would only be giving a mighty impulse to the agitation which had already raised. By simply refusing to bind themselves they would leave it for others to settle, and could go quietly on with their work. They knew how Manchester was seething with discontent, Conservative Liverpool was ill at ease, whilst Birmingham was torn by agitation, and other towns were waiting for the decision of the London Board on the question. If they endorsed this principle of the bye-law they would give an immeasurable impulse to the disturbance, and he might say candidly if he were only anxious for the speedy establishment of his own views of national education, if he desired to see as soon as possible the system which Mr. Smithies admired—viz., making education compulsory, secular, and free—he should vote against the amendment, and wish the success of the resolution so unwillingly moved by the Rev. John Rodgers; but he had more desire to see their own proper work peacefully and happily done than to watch the growth of any agitation. He hoped he was anxious for the practical education of the people, but if they passed this bye-law he believed they would only be helping to raise a storm which would most seriously disturb them. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. Few (Lambeth) spoke in regard to the necessity which existed for the passing of the bye-law, and referred to the position of Lambeth. In the whole of this large district, represented by 32 square miles, only two schools were to be built by the board to meet the primary wants of that district, one at Newington and one at Battersea. With this board accommodation only, how could the board, he asked, expect that a magistrate would convict a father who could not pay the fees to the school of his choice when there was no other school where he could send his child? He failed to see how gentlemen could vote money to industrial schools, where each child cost 7s. a week, and where each was brought up in the faith of his parent, and yet refuse the school pence in daily schools.

Mr. Chatfeild Clarke (Finsbury) said he thought they need hardly have had this discussion if the course he volunteered to suggest had been taken some months ago. In the committee he suggested that the right course of policy would be to leave the question open for further discussion without coming to the board as two hostile camps equally divided. He regretted that that course was not taken, but it was those gentlemen who forced a decision with whom the responsibility rested. Many of those who agreed in the general principle did not desire to take any extreme action at this moment, and they would be willing to agree to some fair proposition in order to go on equitably and wisely to carry out a scheme of policy. Some members of the press had recently stated that there were a number of extreme Dissenters on the board, who desired to bring this question in its ultimate issue to a dead-lock, for it mattered not which way the votes were, matters would come to a dead-lock, and they would have to get some further solution of the question. He might say, candidly, if the argument with regard to justice weighed upon him, they would convert him to the other side; but certainly in the eyes of the ratepayers they would commit an injustice if the board called upon them to pay for the teaching in denominational schools. But did they commit an injustice to the poor parent by saying, "I am prepared to teach your child secular knowledge in our school. You need not remain even in the board school for religious instruction. I will do all the good I can for you as far as circumstances will permit"? What injustice to the parent could there be in that? It was for those who desired dogmatic teaching for their children to come and supply it by voluntary effort; but it was not for the board to impose on the consciences of the ratepayers the establishment of dogmatic differences in the minds of the children. He should regret it if there were any large number of members of the board who were disposed to teach dogmatic differences to young children. It was the greatest mistake possible. Had they not arrived at a time when some true idea of national education ought to exist in their minds? Could they conceal from their eyes what was now sought to be done? It was sought to enforce compulsion, and to pay fees in order to fill up the denominational schools throughout London, and when that had been done, the party would say to the board, "There is no work left for you—we have done it all for you—you have given us compulsion, you have paid our fees and filled up our schools, we will bar you out, and there is nothing left for you to do." That was the course sought to be taken, and that was the danger from which they ought to save the ratepayers. It was a fact that the Committee of Works had hardly had one good school offered to them, and no Church of England schools. The larger proportion of schools offered had been ragged-schools of the smallest calibre. He believed that in justice to the consciences of the ratepayers the course he had pointed out should not be allowed. It would be a betrayal of the trust reposed in the members as representatives of the ratepayers. The duty of the board was to nourish a catholic and generous feeling with reference to education in London; they were not to support any particular denomination. (Hear, hear.) With regard to Mr. Few's remarks, he thought he would see that the question of denominational grants would cut against him as much as for him. No doubt the framers of the act acknowledged it as a compromise, when they said, "We will give you your good things now, we will increase your grants, but that is your equivalent. We are going naturally and quietly to establish a national system of education." They had received their good things, but now they came again to the board as denominationalists and said, "Give us something more." Was that fair? Ought they not rather try to combine together and lay aside all little questions of dogmatic differences. Ought they not to respect the young child's conscience, and not to have dogmas brought into play. They should teach the child the highest moral duties and the best discipline for this life and another, and leave all questions of dogmatical differences aside. With respect to the several questions that had arisen, he would diverge to that of the Roman Catholics in order to express his utter want of sympathy with the remarks made by Professor Huxley on that matter. It was only just and right they should say to the Roman Catholic members that they respected their religious view and hoped they respected theirs, though they differed entirely from one another. He thought the Roman Catholics of London were somewhat hardly placed, owing to the passing of the resolution with regard to religious teaching. It was admitted by one of the ablest members of the board that what would take place under that teaching was the Protestant Bible, and Trinitarian teaching; and if that was the case the Roman Catholics had a ground of complaint. Instead of being inveighed against and spoken of in the way Professor Huxley had spoken of them, they ought to be considered as having a real claim on the board, and instead of the board's reprehension they were entitled to its warmest sympathies. With these feelings could they not take a wider view of matters, and by putting their heads together try and prevent ultimate differences which would otherwise exist. Some might say, "Let us carry our point and all will be right." But it would not be all right! There was a feeling growing in the country to which expression was given in that room the other day; and one gentleman said, "he would rather go to prison than pay the rate," and that feeling existed very generally. (Hear, hear.) People were banded together in the Northern towns to oppose it, and therefore they must not consider that by settling this question with a narrow majority, they would settle it altogether. They would only be exciting agitation which all desired to avoid, and those who agreed with him thought the question should be passed by, so that the board might get to work and build schools in the most practical way they could. They would be raising a flame in this country by assisting to establish the payment of fees, which they would not be able to extinguish. He therefore earnestly hoped no member would think that by catching a vote at this moment, he could contribute to the decision of this question. The question would go on unless it was settled in a different way to what it had been in some school boards, and it might break up a Ministry, but it certainly would require an alteration in the Education Act at some future day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. E. N. Buxton (Tower Hamlets), wished to state, as a Churchman, why he should vote for the payment of fees in denominational schools. It seemed to him that really all the arguments against the motion were summed up in these, first, that it was wrong to pay fees for denominational teaching, and secondly, that it was foolish to allow the money of the ratepayers to pass into the hands of others. If you went into a baker's shop to buy a penny roll, and walked off with a quartern loaf as well, you couldn't be said on that account to support the baker. (Laughter.) All the best public elementary schools in London were nearly full already; and if 26 per cent. were added to the attendance they would be quite full. It would be better for the schools themselves if they declined to receive the children in question, as they belonged to the lowest of the low, and would injure the character of the school. As regarded the argument that it was not well to part with the ratepayers' money, he replied that that was done whenever payment was made for results. The school which was to receive the money must be an efficient one, and that was a sufficient security as regarded the money. As to the question of conscience, he did not think it mattered much what kind of consciences were regarded and what kind disregarded. The question was whether, if a man refused to send his child to a board school, a conviction could be obtained against him. No magistrate would fine a Jew for refusing to send his child to a Christian school; and if that held good of a Jew, it would hold good of others. He protested against the agitation out of doors, in which a number of gentlemen declared that they would go to prison rather than pay the rates; not that they meant to go to prison, as they knew that the rate would be levied as a separate one. If the agitation meant anything, it meant, "Perish the Act of Parliament if we don't get our own way." The agitators forgot that part of the income-tax had been applied to support what they termed denominationalism. (Hear, hear.) This time last year all parties were promising to carry out the Act both in letter and in spirit, and was it not the intention of the Act that all parents should be left to select a school for their children? He believed that the board schools would in consequence of the experience gained be the best; but the present question was one not between them and denominations, but between them and the parents of children. He hoped that when this question had been settled they would forget their differences, and not rend the book in their struggle about the binding. (Cheers.) He did not speak in the interest of any denomination, but hoped the board would be able to carry out these bye-laws. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. E. MUDIE (Westminster) asked the attention of the board for a few moments, as he could not give a silent vote on this important question. The chief difficulty was with regard to the plea of conscience. The board must pay proper respect to this matter. This plea of conscience, when it moved the English people a few years ago, was strong enough to cast out from Parliament an important piece of legislation, and to defer the education of the people for thirty years, simply because the nation would rather wait for a better system than have its conscientious convictions disregarded. But the plea of conscience told on all sides of the general argument. We should bear patiently with others who think differently, and in questions of conscience bear in mind the grand injunction of the Apostle —"Conscience—not thine own but another's." The parent said he had a conscience, and whether he had or had not it was the same thing for all practical purposes. If they compelled a man to send a child to a school in which he believed the teaching to be injurious, it would be a phase of tyranny for which the people of England are not prepared. It may be said that they have settled and decided the principle of compulsion, but had they done so? (Cries of "Hear, hear," and "Yes.") They had voted for it, but he was not quite sure that the principle was yet quite settled. He had not had the opportunity of speaking on that point, but he must allude to the case of Stockport, which seemed to be a sort of pilot balloon, sent up to show the force and direction of those winds of public opinion which could not otherwise be ascertained. Stockport shows an increase in the number of scholars of 2,000 on its books, but the increase of attendance is only 1,000. It looked as if the children went to school on a Monday to pay the fees, and then vanished for the remainder of the week, but what was wanted was not the fees of the children, but their attendance. With compulsory power in full operation at Stockport, the result was not very satisfactory. But compulsion or not, the board schools would be quite useless unless they were good educational establishments conducted on broad and general principles; the board also, as trustees of public money, ought to have a conscience, and they must take care that the teaching for which they paid was sound and wholesome. Could they secure this in schools which were not under their own inspection and control? Would the denominational schools submit to their inspection and control? Some would, no doubt, and to those he would hold out the right hand of fellowship. There were many schools, technically denominational from the accidents of their origin and association, but conducted on broad and generous principles, and really good for all educational purposes; and he did not think there would be any violation of principle on the part of the board in availing themselves of such schools for the purposes of the board. But some schools would not submit to their control, and some could not. The Roman Catholics, for instance, had a conscience which the board was bound to respect—a conscience which for his own part he earnestly respected. There were Roman Catholics who held the opinion that they could not separate secular from religious instruction—that religious instruction must necessarily run through all teaching. He heartily sympathised with his Roman Catholic friends in this principle. "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder." This division of secular and sacred teaching was not recognised in the Bible, from which all our best ideas of instruction were obtained. Our present action, however, was guided by the Act of Parliament. We must separate things sacred from things secular by adopting the Tin e-t ble conscience clause; but if the Roman Catholics would not accept the time-table clause, then the board would be in a grave dilemma. (Mr. WALLACE: We do.) Well, he was glad to hear that, but he was not sure whether Mr. Wallace spoke for one section or the other of his body.

Mr. HUTCHINS: We are not divided.

Mr. MUDIE was glad to hear that, and to believe, as he did, that the English Catholics were better than some other branches of their Church. If they could accept the conscience clause, and put their schools under inspection, and guarantee that those schools should come up to the board's standard, he should heartily admit them, and pay fees to them, and to all schools of every shade and colour approved by the board. He was one of those members who would cheerfully accept any honourable solution of this difficulty, but at present, and until this question of conscience was fairly settled, he could not see how they could do it otherwise than by accepting Mr. Morley's amendment.

Mr. WALLACE wished to explain that all the Catholic schools in London, except some of the convent schools where there was a difficulty as to certificates to the teachers, accepted the time-table and conscience clause, as public elementary schools. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. MEE (Southwark) said that, after all, the great problem which the board had to solve was, how to get the thousands of children from the streets into their schools. He was astonished to see the board go away from that primary question to the one of any religious difference that might be between them. He maintained that all along the schools of the Church of England had been truly national—(No, no) -and that no dogmatic teaching had been enforced upon the children at all. There had been no sectarian spirit shown, but a free exercise of conscience had at all times been allowed. It was, he maintained, much better to send the thousands of neglected children to school than to allow them to live in the streets, depraved and hopeless. He believed that the clergy, as a body, would ever be found doing their duty loyally to the law, and they could not but admit that the national schools hitherto had been carried on in such a manner as to be a blessing to the rising generation of the country. It was painful to see the agitation which had been raised with respect to the question at issue, and he would appeal to those who had it in their power to turn their attention more to the real matter in hand, to rescue the hundreds and thousands of the poor neglected children of this metropolis, and to place them in such a position as that their material benefit could be at once secured. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. ANGUS moved the adjournment of the debate.

In reply to Alderman COTTON, the CHAIRMAN said that "pairs" would not be taken notice of in the division.

The debate was then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY.

The board reassembled yesterday afternoon at three o'clock; Lord Lawrence in the chair. There was a full attendance of members, and the proceedings were listened to by a very large audience.

The Rev. Dr. ANGUS desired in continuing the debate to put before the board the arguments which had been used on either side during the debate, and thought it undesirable that all the discussions should be answers of one member of the board to another, as that course was apt to produce irritation. He would therefore not go into a discussion of the arguments that had been used, but would state from his own point of view, what appeared to him to be the arguments on the case. He wished to be allowed to say that two or three statements and arguments which seemed fallacious pervaded more or less the entire discussion. He held the question before the board was very much narrowed by their decision last week on the second bye-law. Mr. Reed appealed to Stockport in support of compulsion, and for that purpose it was a capital argument, for 1,000 children were sent to school and nearly 2,000 were put on the books through the force of that enactment; but the following day the argument took a new form, and it was said that for the 1,000 children sent to school the cost was only 2*l.* 18*s.*, and this argument was stated by the Rev. Prebendary Thorold, whose authority of course had great weight on the ground of his noble devotedness to this work of education in a catholic and liberal spirit. Mr. Thorold told them that in his parish 14,000 children were waiting to go to school, and Mr. Smithies said there were 150,000 waiting to occupy the vacancies, and they said, why not pay the fees and send them to school? but there was a fallacy in this argument. The Stockport Board with its 2,000 additional children had only to remit the payments of forty. In London they had 350,000 children on the books, but there were only 250,000 in attendance, so that 100,000 children might be compelled to attend without any difficulty as to the conscience clause, and whose fees were paid or ought to be paid. The second bye-law would send 70,000 or 80,000 children to school over and above 50,000 places where there was room for them, so that if they carried out the principles of compulsion in London the same as in Stockport, they would have about 10,000 children for whom they would have to pay; but even suppose it were five times that amount, it would only be 50,000 out of 100,000. Happily for them, however, the question was now narrowed by the adoption of the second bye-law. He was also afraid that the board had missed its way in some of the arguments, and he was afraid they were confounding two things. It was said that the Roman Catholic members of the board would not be contented unless a certain kind of religious education was given, and he had heard the same thing said in other quarters. The question, however, was not what education would be satisfactory, nor what education members in their consciences thought, but the question was how could the education the board had to carry out be done? He believed, for his own part, that the conscientious Churchman felt as strongly on ecclesiastical questions as the Roman Catholic did on some points of religion that he held to be sacred. Ministers of the Church of England might not deem certain things vital, but if they were asked to contribute to the support of opposite views, then it would be a vital matter, and he would deem it of importance. He was quite sure that Nonconformists deemed ecclesiastical questions important too. More than that, he had a strong feeling that Evangelical Nonconformists would not find in the schools that sort of spiritual religious teaching that they all prized. In point of fact, those schools would not meet the conscientious feelings that any of them deemed abstractedly best, but what he held was that he had not the face to ask more from the ratepayers. The practical question was not what they deemed conscientiously best, but what they had a right to ask another to pay for who did not concur in their particular views. He hoped it would be strenuously and clearly maintained that their business was not to meet the conscientious theories and ideals of any, but to lay down that fair education which would do the least violence to the consciences of the ratepayers, and secure the efficient education of the children. He must say he was sorry to hear the argument of Professor Huxley with relation to the Roman Catholics. He held that all denominationalism had mischievous tendencies when pushed to extremes. The denominationalism of the Church, it was said, tended to Rome; the denominationalism of Dissent tended to narrow sectarianism; the denominationalism of the Roman Catholics tended, undoubtedly, it was said, to the suppression of free inquiry, and was tyrannous; but the board had not to decide upon the tendencies of any system, nor to decide upon the motives of the men who supported them. What the board had to do was to ask—Is it fair to ask the ratepayers to support denominational views to which they conscientiously objected, and which might have those tendencies? He thought it himself unwise to charge upon any members of the board the logical consequences of certain opinions held by the body to which they belonged. The question was simply whether the board should support denominationalism at all in its respective schools. He should have been glad if it had been possible that the board could have supported schools by payment wherever necessary, so long as the schools did not violate the board's non-denominational principles, for he believed that one-third of the schools of London, comprising British, Wesleyan, secular, and liberal Church schools, might be, under that arrangement, placed honestly and fairly in connection with the board, and so as to receive the fees; but he was sorry to find that that could not be carried out. It would have been a relief to his mind if the board could have distinguished between secular and religious teaching, and say to all the schools in London, "We will agree to pay for the secular teaching if you will let us off the denominational teaching"; but he believed that legally interpreted the Act of Parliament allowed no such distinction. He was told that if the board paid to one school they must be prepared equally to pay to all, and if they paid for secular instruction they were not allowed by law to make any distinction between such payments and payments for religious teaching. Was the board prepared to support denominational schools all over London, many of which would be of the intensest sort? That was practically the question. For his own part, he deplored that this question was put before the board at all; he did not, however, find fault with the Government for referring the question to the constituencies, or that Parliament had spent time in discussing it and allowed it to come now to divide this board; but what he complained of was that the Government had laid down one rule for the board and had reserved an entirely different rule for themselves. In the grants of the Government, made under the Act of Parliament, the provision explicitly stated that no part of grants should be given in any case or under any circumstances for the payment of religious teaching in any of the schools throughout the country. But that was not the rule laid down for the board; to the board they said, "If you choose to act upon the 25th Section and pay to any schools, you shall not be free to make any such distinction at all, you shall pay for denominational religion generally, asking no questions and making no distinction." He maintained that if the voice of the country demanded, that Government grants should be made only for secular purposes. What was good for the Education Department was good for the board; indeed that was the very phraseology that Mr. Gladstone employed in his speech at Blackheath. He (Mr. Gladstone) said that the great end of the Act—its fundamental principle was to support the action of the State in the matter of education—the application of State influence, in which he included funds raised by rate for all subjects in which, unhappily, religious differences prevailed. That was the very provision of the 97th clause, and he (Dr. Angus) held that in fairness this board ought at least to have been left free to decide on the application of that very principle which had been applied to all other schools in the country. He did not, however, blame the Government, he believed there were several cases in which the 25th Section would operate fairly, not only in the case supposed by a member where was practically only one denomination, for he visited last week a parish in which there was a national school and a British school, and the clergyman and the British school committee agreed that the clergyman should reserve his denominational teaching till Sunday, and that both would teach a common Christianity throughout the week, and on that condition it became possible to apply the 25th Section forthwith. If in the case of a school board it was found that the necessities of a particular town required concurrent endowment, it would be at any rate fair to employ it; but that necessity did not arise in London. For the board to pay fees would be an entire violation of the Act, and if done under pressure would be a great hardship and a violation of equity and of conscience. The difficulty was augmented by the position of the board and the peculiarities and positions in life. In his own district there were four distinct sets of schools—Church schools, Primitive Methodist schools, Congregational schools, and Ragged schools. The Primitive Methodists repudiated Government grants, and so in this case did the Congregationalists, and when the Act was passed both those bodies closed the schools. The ragged-school was also closed. If they passed this bye-law, they would see that in that district they would say to Methodists and Independent congregations and others, "We compel, but choose your school." The reply would be, "Choose our schools! Why, the only schools are Church schools, and half of the number are sustained by High-Church clergymen; what choice have we?"

It was notorious that there were many districts in London in precisely that condition. What was called the power of choice was practically, in half of London nearly, no choice at all. Not only was this the fact, but the board had resolved to have inspectors in all their schools, and he presumed it would be right, if they passed this bye-law and paid the fees, that they should also undertake to examine the children, to see if they were getting efficient teaching; but if they were displeased with the teaching, could they object to the school? They were bound by the bye-law to pay the fees in any school the parent selected. It might be a public elementary school, but it might be most inefficiently conducted for all that. (Hear, hear.) Then the question of history. He would not allude to its history in this country, but he might say that all the questions which the board were now considering had been considered and urged and settled throughout America. They began with denominational teaching, and now throughout the whole of the States the rule was that no State funds were appropriated to denominational schools at all. They had found that that was the only solution of the enormous difficulties. The latest example of the kind occurred in the city of New York, where they acted on the plan of concurrent endowment, and the legislature had decided that the evils of the question were so serious that no denominational teaching whatever was to be given in any schools. He held, therefore, that the spirit of the Act of Parliament, that the principle laid down by the board, and that the history of the question all pointed to the conclusion that nothing short of total separation of denominational teaching—he did not mean religious—from their secular schools would meet either the acceptance of the public or the necessities of the case. It was not only a question of denominationalism, and a question of control, but to his mind it was supremely a question of conscience—a question that was carefully avoided by several speakers on the previous day. It was vital that the board should clearly understand what the issue was of this question. There were two things peculiar to conscientious questions; first of all they knew that a man's conscientious conviction was to him his interpretation of the divine law; it was a law he felt bound to obey. A man might be mistaken, of course, as to the meaning of the divine law; he might be conscientiously wrong, but his conscientious conviction was the judgment that he felt of his duty towards God. It was a thing that allowed of no compromise; it was a thing by which every good man was bound. And then the second peculiarity of this faculty was, that if you forced a man to take up little matters of conscience they became essential. If they compelled him to support a religious ordinance which he believed the Bible forbade, or told him to deny his view of certain religious ordinances which he believed to be correct, he could do neither the one nor the other, any more than he could stand up and say there was no God. There was no distinction at all when they compelled him to deny what he held, or to support what he disbelieved. Yet, whilst there were differences between sects, he held that the truths on which they could agree were infinitely more precious than the points on which they differed. If they said to him, "You must deny your theory about baptism, or you must support by money payment infant baptism, he could no more do the one or the other than he could deny the most cherished truths he held. That he believed to be the law of conscience. It was his interpretation of the Divine law, he could not deny it, or pay money to support the opposite. Of course it was said there was a conscience on the other side, and he thought they ought to look at that question fairly. What was the conscience on the other side? The poor man's. "I object to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, unless you teach me the Church Catechism." Was this so? He doubted whether there were very many poor men who said so. (Hear, hear.) But supposing it was said, was it a fair representation? Or perhaps the form was this, not, "I object to learn the A B C unless you teach me the Church catechism," but "in my conscience I object to be taught it." But the answer might be, "I, in my conscience, think my child ought to be taught certain forms of religious truth too, but I do not ask my neighbours to pay for it. It may be an essential to a complete education, but it is not a part of our creed that it must be taught at the public expense, with the money of people who essentially differ from you." Here there was a confounding of two things which ought never to be confounded; but if a man said he did not wish for secular education unless he had denominational teaching, that he would not take reading, writing, and arithmetic unless he had his own catechism, it would appear that that was a case of conscience, but it was not a guide for any other man. He (Dr. Angus) held that his views were right, and in such a case he would set one conscience against another. The ground of his objections was that conscience was law, and he would not interfere with any one's conscience unless that conscience interfered with his (Dr. Angus's) rights. If a man got up and said he belonged to the Peculiar People, and conscientiously objected to send for a doctor for his child, the State very properly stepped in and said, "The child has a right to the use of the means for preserving life." We have a higher duty; our duty is to exercise an undoubted right, and we must forbid it. When a man says, "I object to take the A B C unless you give me the catechism, the dictates of another man's conscience would reply that he could not pay for another man's denominational views at all. They had no more right to ask any man to do it than they had a right to ask him to do anything else that violated his rights, when the violation was not essential to some great public interest. On this question he acknowledged the rights of the poor, and their conscientious rights so long as they did not interfere with the conscientious convictions of what others believed to be right. What was right, therefore, in relation to this question of teaching? Did they not get what they asked for in getting secular teaching? If they wanted more, and wanted their denominational teaching paid for out of another man's purse, it was the other man's duty to refuse to pay with his substance for any such purpose. It was said to be a question of compromise. He believed it was a question of compromise—a compromise that was completed within the four corners of the Act of Parliament. He remembered the discussions in the House of Commons, and the compromise was this:—"We will increase the grants to denominational schools." And the grants were increased. The denominations had had their share in the compromise His conviction was clear that, if the board in London and the country boards resolved to pay fees to denominational schools, the whole question of the compromise would have to be opened up again. It was the old American controversy. They settled the question there in precisely the same way, but discontent grew so strong, that they even had to withdraw the grants that were given before. And if he might speak conscientiously and earnestly to Churchmen and Roman Catholics, he would say that the wisest policy as well as the fair thing for them to do was to take what they had got and make the best of it, for he believed that further agitation would only risk their present system. He had only one point more. He came to the board, as nearly all its members had come, to represent these three principles: to get the best secular teaching they could, to get the reading of the Bible in all schools, and to get undenominational teaching. Wherever he went in his canvass he was told by Churchmen as well as by Dissenters to get undenominationalism, an open Bible, and the best secular instruction; and he felt himself bound in honour to act upon that principle. He was bound in conscience to act upon it, for his conscience forbade him to take the public money to support his own denominational views, and his conscience forbade him also to pay public money for the support of the denominational views of his neighbours. He held that this was a conscientious question. He believed it was so regarded by the great masses of those who were moving somewhat warmly and zealously on this question. If the board decided to pay these fees, he could only say he could be no party to it, and he believed there would be such a stir throughout the country on the side of the conscientious view he took as would jeopardise the teaching of religion at all, and would be a fearful hindrance to the progress of that cause which he rejoiced to say was the elevation of the people by a wise and generous system of public education.

Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P. (Westminster), said he was most anxious that the board should get to work as quickly as possible. He had an objection to the proposed bye-law. With Mr. Tabrum, he regarded the bye-law as a distinct invitation to parents to forget their parental duties in regard to education, and as an advertisement that it was open to take an education for their children out of the rates, and he hoped the board would do without any bye-law at all. (Cheers.) He said this earnestly, desiring to promote peace and to find a way out of the difficulties created for the board by the Legislature. (Hear, hear.) He most earnestly deprecated any such agitation as had been raised out of doors, and which he considered quite uncalled for and quite out of place. There were undoubtedly cases to be considered on all sides, and the board should not bind itself to any course, but should be free to act in any case independently. To do this would give a triumph on neither side—(cheers)—and would allow the board to get to work—(cheers)—and would leave the remission and payment of fees not adopted as a principle by this board or rejected. He considered with Mr. Tabrum that any wide or extensive system of remission or payment of fees would be degrading in character, and for his part free schools altogether would be far preferable to such a plan. He appealed to Mr. S. Morley to withdraw his amendment to make way for the one he would propose, which was as follows:—

That bye-law 8 be withdrawn, and that the board, recognising the necessity for exercising the powers contained in sections 17 and 25, resolves that such remission or payment shall be made exceptionally on proof of urgent temporary need, each case being dealt with on its own merits, leaving it open to the board to reconsider the whole question, with the aid of the experience gained, so soon as the new schools which the board have decided immediately to provide shall have been brought into operation.

He left the board to consider that proposal, and he asked Mr. Morley to give his answer.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon supported the appeal which Mr. Smith had made to Mr. Morley, and also urged that Mr. John Rodgers and Mr. C. Clarke should withdraw the bye-law. The speakers on each side, he said, had great arguments to support their views, and he dwelt upon the difficulties which would apparently result if either of the contending parties had a victory.

Mr. S. Morley, M.P., said he was most desirous of avoiding the necessity of a division, or of anything which would be like a measure of strength of the opinion in the board. (Cheers.) The board had worked together with great harmony, and, desirous as he was that that harmony should be maintained, he should, for his own part, be inclined joyously to accept the proposal made by Mr. Smith. (Cheers.) He thought that if they weighed the matter for a few minutes a solution would be found of the difficult problem before them. He wished, at the same time, to have it recorded that he had expressed his desire to bridge over the time between this and the time when the board's schools would be at work by some means which would meet the circumstances at present existing.

The Rev. Canon Miller moved that the sitting should be suspended for a quarter of an hour, and Mr. Lucraft seconded the motion.

Mr. Green suggested that the board should continue the discussion, and should take the proposed amendment on the following day.

The Rev. Dr. Barry protested against such a course as was thus suggested, and said this would be a most unreal discussion. (Hear.)

Professor Huxley said he was sure that it had not entered into Mr. Smith's mind to put into his proposed amendment words that might bind the board's action in ways which might be objectionable. He suggested that the words from "recognising" to the words "sections 17 and 25" should be omitted, as well as the words from "leaving it open" to the end of the amendment.

A discussion followed as to whether the sitting should be suspended, or whether the board should adjourn, and various proposals were made. At length a division was taken whether the sitting should be suspended, and this was carried, thirty-four being for the motion and four against it. When the board resumed,

Mr. S. Morley, M.P., stated that he had no hesitation in saying that he withdrew the amendment, and he believed that this course would lead to the maintenance of peace and harmony. (Cheers and No.")

Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., said the amendment he should propose would be as follows:—

That bye-law 8 be withdrawn, and that the board resolves that remission or payment of fees in public elementary schools shall be made exceptionally on proof of urgent temporary need, each case being dealt with on its own merits, without prejudice to the principles involved on either side.

The Rev. Dr. Angus declared his opposition to this proposed amendment, as he said it would leave the board power to vote money in support of denominational schools.

Mr. McCullagh Torrens, M.P., had heard a portion of this debate with instruction, and a portion of it with great regret. He heard a gentleman yesterday, to his amazement, declare that if they were to build any number of board schools, and equip them as well as possible, they would not get a single additional scholar, unless they enforced compulsion. (Hear, hear.) He must say, without doubting in the least the sincerity of that gentleman, that such a statement was likely to mislead the board about payment. Payment and compulsion were, in his mind, inextricably commingled. He did not think they could judge of the situation with reference to the feeling out of doors without reverting constantly to the question of what it was the board meant by having adopted compulsion. For himself he thought it would have been better if that question had been deferred; but having adopted it, what did they mean by the bye-law now proposed? If they adopted rule 8 they would be in the position of being obliged to impose a large additional rate on the metropolis. He had not heard any estimate what that additional charge would be, and the mention of that item brought him to the point he was desirous of speaking of. He did not agree with Dr. Angus that it was desirable that they should go to a pitched battle on this question. He would offer them a good excuse for pausing at this point, namely, that they did not know what the expenditure would be in case the actual proposal was adopted. Before they took any steps at all one way or the other, that would be a fair question to consider. He appealed to his hon. friend the member for Bristol to testify whether in the debate in the House of Commons there was the slightest intimation given that the 25th clause was ever to be the basis of a general system of payment. They knew, of course, from the public sources of information, that it had been interpreted in directly opposite senses by different great towns. Whatever they decided they knew would be perfectly valueless, because it would not have the moral sanction of a preponderance of the board. They might snatch a majority for the amendment, or withdraw it, or withhold the withdrawal of the amendment, but they would still find that there was no moral preponderance at the board for one opinion or the other. Going to the general question—why should they not, for the sake of recovering that moral tendency over the minds of men which was so essential to their good working, say to the Government and Parliament, "You have given us a riddle which few men solve in the same sense, so that scarcely two men one meets in public or private can declare what you mean by this law." Let them wait, then; it could not be essential to have the matter settled for a few weeks or months; they could deal with it as competently in the month of March April, or May, as now. If they did not wish to rub noses to the grindstone of polemical opinion, as wise men, business men, and good citizens he asked them to take this opportunity of throwing back upon the Government and Parliament the responsibility which, as influential leaders they, and not the board, ought to settle, and of saying what the law ought to be. As for

the board's decision, there was not a child in the town that did not know they were half one way or half another, therefore any division would be practically valueless. He urged upon his fellow Churchmen at the board (and he avowed personally that he loved his own Church and desired its teaching to be maintained) to be content with the excellent terms they had got in the statute of last year. He thought they had no reason to complain, as they had got fifty per cent., their schools were in occupation of the ground, and they had the greatest wealth of the community belonging to their communion, and if they had their heart and soul in that Church teaching it was worth paying for. They had the means of doing it, and the odds in their favour as Churchmen. It was an unwise course to drive their Dissenting friends to contribute against their will. If, therefore, Mr. Smith had not already completely made up his mind, he would suggest to him whether it would not be better to ask for a simple adjournment for three or six months—(No, no)—until Parliament should be able to decide the question.

The Rev. Dr. BARRY maintained that delay in the matter was impossible, and he asserted that those who were supporting the bye-law were advancing a matter of simple right and justice. What he could describe as "his side" did not desire to advance their own particular schools, but they desired to see the principle of compulsion enforced, and this could not be done without something like the eighth bye-law, for there would be no conviction when a parent pleaded his conscience. He defended the Church of England from inuendoes that she uesired to carry out denominational teaching, and contended that she had taken the lead in a truly denominational system of education. He deprecated pushing matters to a triumph on either side—though he said if his side were pushed into a corner they would fight, and he had no doubt on which side the majority would be. He offered to vote for any side which would give a prospect of at once taking the children from the gutter and placing them in schools.

Mr. GREEN said it was unfortunate that the discussion on the two proposals were pledged to be taken together. He thoroughly sympathised with Dr. Angus, and his objection to allow Mr. Morley's amendment to be withdrawn from the consideration of the board. He felt with him most strongly and earnestly that this debate would be renewed over and over again upon every special case there might be introduced, not only when compulsion was brought in, but also when the remission of fees to indigent parents was considered. Dr. Barry had put the question before them as a matter of compromise, but what he (Mr. Green) and his friends objected to was the principle. He would be quite prepared therefore to accept the absolute omission of bye-law 8, and if that were done section 25 of the Act of Parliament would remain just as much binding or not on the board as it had previously. Why could they not agree simply to the withdrawal of the bye-law and to Mr. Morley's amendment, leaving matters to be dealt with from time to time under bye-law 25. But Mr. Smith's objection went further than that, because it asked them to acknowledge two principles, when only one, in fact, was distinctly and absolutely before the board. If the resolution said that the board "shall" pay, he contended that it would be giving up the whole principle. The question was not one of amount, as it did not matter whether it was a farthing, a penny, a shilling, or a hundred pounds—it was a question of principle, and not a question of payment of a few pounds a year. He was quite sure everyone out of doors, or anywhere else, would understand that the resolution as it stood did mean that the board bound itself to the payment of those fees. It might be said that they simply paid for a certain period. The board had that power under section 25, and therefore needed no resolution or bye-law at all. They would reserve the right of the board under that section, but he objected to commit it in any shape or way on this question. Mr. Gladstone said in his speech at Greenwich that he was quite prepared to reconsider this great question with the light that had been thrown upon it by the recent discussions. Only that morning they had received intelligence that Plymouth had passed a resolution, such as the other side would like to see passed, by a majority of one. What was the effect of this? The Plymouth Board came to a dead lock. If the London Board divided, he believed there would be something like a tie; or even supposing there was a majority on one side or the other, they might clearly perceive that the board could not proceed with the practical work before them. He therefore asked those on the opposite side to consent simply to the omission of bye-law 8, and to the withdrawal of Mr. Morley's amendment, allowing the matter to rest as Mr. Torrens had suggested for the present, and dealing separately with the cases specially coming before the board. Considering the three great sections into which the community were divided—the great Nonconformist section, the Church section, and the Catholic section—it was pitiable that they could not amongst themselves meet by contributions of their own the payment of the fees of the comparatively few children that would be presented to the board for payment of those fees. He felt, a long time ago, that there might be a discussion under this 25th section, owing to the difficulties that surrounded it, and he suggested twelve months ago that those difficulties might be met by some such proposal as he had now undertaken. Dr. Barry had said he did not believe in intolerance in the Church of England schools. (Dr. BARRY said he had in his speech allowed that there might be intolerant exceptions.) It was immaterial to him whether the Church of England was intolerant or not. He would not now argue that question, because he would object to pay fees as much to one denomination as to another. But he knew from a personal experience of twenty years in the work of practical education that there were many schools imbued by the process to which Dr. Barry had referred. He knew one at this moment that was almost imbued by the spirit which was so well known, viz., that of inducing children to attend the national schools, but requiring their attendance at Church on Sundays. He contended that the practice was in force at the present day not only in the country, but in London. An idea had been thrown out by one of the speakers who had suggested, "How is it you have agreed to pay in the shape of a grant given by Government to schools in which denominationalism is taught? Is that not the same principle that you are now opposing?" His reply was, "No." The Privy Council said in substance in their last minute that no grant of any description should be made on the religious instruction given in any school aided by the Government, and also that the inspectors were not allowed to inquire into the religious teaching, whether there was any religious teaching or not in those schools. The difference was that the Government said, "We will simply pay for secular results," whilst the board were now asked to pay not only for secular results, but an absolute dogmatical and theological teaching. (Cries of "No, no.") Then you must attempt to prove it. Supposing a parent went to the managers of a school and wished to have the fees paid the board would agree to pay, and the parent would have the absolute right to select any school that he might like. Having that right the reason for his choice of a school was apparent. He could send his child to a school because he wanted it to have denominational instruction. There would be no other reason. Of course he would be referred to the conscience clause, but the conscience clause was in effect impracticable, because the conscience clause said the child should not receive religious teaching if the parent objected; but in this case the child would be sent to a school for the very reason that denominational teaching could be got there. The point was that the board had no power to determine or select or discriminate even in denominational schools of any kind, although there might be many of which they could approve, and of which they could have no objection to pay fees for the children, but they had no power. It was a fact that if the board paid at all the parent had the absolute right of selection. It was not a question of the parent's conscience at all, it was simply the question of sect. He spoke from an experience of twenty years among the working classes, and he had never in the whole of his experience seen the religious question raised at all. The poor people were always too glad to send their children to school when they were kindly treated, and he ventured to affirm that this was not a question of conscience, but a question of denominationalism *versus* a great national system of education. If they agreed to the compromise suggested by Mr. Smith, which he regretted very much had been accepted by Mr. Morley, it would require some modification. Many of them were not prepared to endorse the principle of payment at all. He thought by far the largest proportion of the working classes were able and willing to pay one penny or twopence a week for the education of their children, and Mr. Smith's resolution urged them to give up that principle which would tend more than anything to lower the working classes in their own estimation, and induce them to give up the spirit of self-reliance for absolute pauperism. He knew a case where a man only earning fifteen or sixteen shillings a week sent two of his children to a school at Homerton, paying the full fees, and he kept them there until they had completed their education at the age of fourteen. How did he accomplish it? Simply by denying himself what some of the working classes would call merely a pint or two of beer a week. The question was in the hands of the working classes themselves. If the board said they would not pay the fees, the working classes would pay themselves, and therefore he could not agree to give up the principle which many members of the board held to be sacred. It had been suggested, however, to him that the suggestion of Mr. Smith might be acceptable if the hon. member would consent to alter the "shall" and substitute the word "may." The word "may" was used in the 25th Clause. If his friends on the other side did not in any way wish to steal a march, or in any way take advantage on this matter, he believed the adoption of the word "may" would be accepted, and there would not be a dissentient voice at the board. Why could they not come to some such decision as that? Let them adhere to the words of the Act of Parliament, and say "may." He was prepared, if the word was adopted, to deal with the case of the indigent children as they came before the board; but he would not be prepared to do so if the term "shall" was permitted to remain in the resolution. He implored his friends to agree to the alteration of the term "shall," and if they did so they would exhibit before the world a spirit which would probably enable the board to carry out the great work they had at heart, because he was perfectly certain that if there was an attempt to take any advantage the question would be raised every time an application was made for payment, and this he wanted earnestly to avoid. The Church party certainly could gain nothing by adhering to the word "shall:" they would accomplish all they wanted by putting in the word "may," because they would have power under the 25th section to do everything they needed.

Mrs. ANDERSON said she did not altogether like the amendment, but she thought the wisest thing the board could do would be to adopt it, for the mere form of words mattered little when there was a need of coming to some settled purpose. If there were to be no cases in which the board could pay for children in some denominational schools, then compulsion would break down, not only in the cases of real conscientious objections, but in spurious ones. For her own part, she did not believe in the consciences of persons who did not pay the school fees of their children, and, granting that their inability to pay might arise from failure, it was sometimes as well to place a penalty upon failure. But she did not want to see any course adopted which would render compulsion impossible, and they had heard from Professor Huxley the difficulties in the way of compulsion.

Mr. CROSSMAN suggested that words should be inserted in the amendment to have the effect of sanctioning its proposals for a limited time.

The debate was then adjourned until to-day.

COUNTRY SCHOOL BOARDS.

THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD.—At the meeting of the Birmingham School Board on Wednesday a deputation attended from the working men's branch of the National Education League. The deputation presented a memorial with 11,228 signatures protesting against that portion of the bye-laws of the board which permitted the application of public money to the support of sectarian schools, over which the ratepayers had no control, as a violation of the principles of civil and religious liberty which would provoke determined and conscientious resistance. The deputation having stated their case, and enforced it by representing that a number of working men were pledged to refuse the payment of rates in case the obnoxious bye-laws were put in force, the spokesmen of the working men were examined and cross-examined by the members of the board on the question of compulsion, and the alleged conscientious scruples of some parents to send children to secular schools. The representatives of the petitioners were in favour of compulsion, and could see no hardship in enforcing attendance at purely secular schools. After a long discussion the memorial was received. An offer of undenominational schools in Brookfields which cost 2,000*l.* was read. The offer was accompanied by the condition that the Bible only be read in school. The offer was declined on the ground that the solicitor to the board had given his opinion that the board could not accept the school with conditions which would fetter a future board. Later a committee was instructed to prepare a case and submit it to counsel of the highest authority on the report of the committee on the offer of the town council to transfer the corporation industrial school to the board because of the condition which would prevent the board from removing or abandoning the school. On the motion of Mr. Dixon, M.P., it was resolved to apply to the Education Department for permission to build schools to accommodate a second five thousand children.

BRADFORD.—On Friday the Bradford School Board resolved to borrow 20,000*l.* in aid of the building of four schools required in different parts of the borough.

BOLTON.—On Thursday the Bolton School Board adopted a bye-law providing for payment of fees to denominational schools. An amendment to omit the clause was negatived, after a discussion of three and a half hours, by seven to six.

PLYMOUTH.—The Plymouth School Board, on Monday, after a vigorous debate, adopted the bye-law, resolving to pay fees for children of indigent parents to denominational schools. The motion was carried by a majority of one vote. The majority consisted of the Churchmen, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics of the board; the minority of the Independents, Baptists, and working men. The matter has, we are informed, caused considerable excitement in the town, and a great agitation to repeal the 25th clause of the Education Act is threatened. The example and arguments of Mr. Baines, M.P., were frequently referred to during the discussion, and the opinions of the *Leeds Mercury* and similar journals were quoted.—*Daily News.*

Some days ago the clothes of a gentleman named Esdaile were found on the Ramsgate beach, and the report was spread that he had been mysteriously drowned. It has transpired that he had returned to London, and taken his passage under an assumed name to the Cape of Good Hope.

It is stated that there is a possibility that the vexed question between the Lords of the Manor of Epping Forest and the parties who may be broadly stated as representing the general public, will be settled amicably. It is understood that the legal representatives of the lords of the manor are not indisposed to accept the *status quo*, *i.e.*, the freedom for the public of the portions of the forest still remaining unenclosed, including High Beech, Wanstead Flats, and the other districts now open, most eligible as recreation ground, and presenting still the rural aspects of true forestal scenery.

NOTICE.—*All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage stamps.*

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

MARRIAGES.

HEPBURN—GOTCH.—Oct. 26, at Tyndale Chapel, Clifton, by the father of the bride, assisted by the Rev. R. Glover, Thomas Henry Hepburn, of St. Mary Cray, Kent, third son of Thomas Hepburn, Esq., of Clapham-common, Surrey, to Alice Foster, eldest daughter of the Rev. F. W. Gotch, LL.D., of Bristol. No cards.

OWEN—BLIGH.—Oct. 26, at Grasmere Church, by the Rev. E. Jefferies, the rector, the Rev. Thomas Owen, rector of St. Thomas and St. James, Nevis, West Indies, to Ellen, youngest daughter of the late John Bligh, Esq., of South Crescent, Bedford-square, London.

DEATHS.

LEE.—Oct. 30, Robert Kelsall Lee, of Kelroyd-bridge, near Halifax, Yorkshire, aged 44 years. Friends will please accept this intimation.

WATERMAN.—Oct. 23, at Ashgrove House, Redland, Bristol, Emma, the much-loved elder daughter of Thomas Waterman.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's *Gazette*.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 25.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£35,930,735	Government Debt.	£11,015,100
		Other Securities	3,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	20,930,735
		Silver Bullion	
	£35,930,735		£35,930,735

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Propr'tor's Capit'l	£14,553,000	Government Securities, (inc. dead weight annuity)	£15,201,028
Rest	3,117,282		
Public Deposits	4,094,448		
Other Deposits	23,958,163	Other Securities	19,464,541
Seven Day and other Bills	514,367	Notes	10,847,160
		Gold & Silver Coin	724,531
	£46,237,260		£46,237,260

Oct. 26, 1871. GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

GOOD VALUE FOR MONEY is desired by all, but with articles that cannot be judged of by appearance, careful purchasers rely on the high standing of those with whom they deal. For thirty years, Horniman's Pure Teas in packets have given general satisfaction, being exceedingly strong, of *uniform good quality, and truly cheap*. (2,538 Agents are appointed.)

BREAKFAST.—EPPS'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately-flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills."—Civil Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled—"James Epps & Co., Homœopathic Chemists, London." Also, makers of Epps's Cacaoine, a very thin beverage for evening use.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Oct. 30.

The supply of English wheat for to-day's market was small. From abroad we have liberal arrivals of Russian and American wheat. The demand was not active this morning, and only selected parcels of the English supply were saleable at the prices of Monday's last; inferior parcels were 1s. per qr. lower. Foreign wheat ex ship was also 1s. cheaper. Flour barrels supported last week's prices. Malting barley was fully as dear; grinding descriptions being in large supply were rather lower. Peas, beans, and maize were without change. The supply of oats was not so large as of late, and good Russian sold at fully late prices, but new oats have declined 6d. per qr. since this day week. We have had a few fresh arrivals at the ports of call. Prices of cargoes remain the same as last week.

CURRENT PRICES.

	Per Qr.		Per Qr.
WHEAT—	s.	PEAS—	s.
Essex and Kent, red	— to —	Grey	37 to 40
Ditto new	52 to 56	Maple	43 46
White	— —	White	39 43
„ new	58 63	Boilers	39 43
Foreign red	55 58	Foreign	38 42
„ white	60 62		
BARLEY—		RYE—	36 38
English malting	31 34	OATS—	
Chevalier	37 42	English feed	23 26
Distilling	34 37	„ potato	27 33
Foreign	33 37	Scotch feed	— —
MALT—		„ potato	— —
Pale	— —	Irish Black	19 21
Chevalier	— —	„ White	21 24
Brown	49 54	Foreign feed	16 21
BEANS—		FLOUR—	
Ticks	37 39	Town made	47 50
Harrow	39 44	Best country households	41 40
Small	— —	Norfolk & Suffolk	38 43
Egyptian	32 34		

BREAD, Saturday, Oct. 28.—The prices in the Metropolis are, for Wheaten Bread, per 4 lbs. loaf, 7½d. to 8d.; Household Bread, 6½d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Oct. 30.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 19,633 head. In the corresponding week in 1870 we received 17,109; in 1869, 11,141; in 1868, 8,480; and in 1867, 8,168 head. The supply of beasts has been rather larger than on Monday last. Foreign breeds have been well represented so far as number has been concerned, and English stock has been more freely offered, but the general quality of the supply has been indifferent. A quiet tone has pervaded the demand throughout, but prices have been without alteration. The choicest English breeds have been disposed of at 5s. 8d. to 5s. 10d., whilst prime foreigners have made 5s. 2d. to 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we received about 1,800 shorthorns, &c.; from other parts of England about 300 various breeds; and from Ireland, about 100 oxen. Only a moderate supply of sheep has been in the pens. The demand has not been active; but the tone has been firm, and prices have been well maintained. The best Downs and half-breds have realised 6s. 10d. to 7s. 0d. per 8lbs. Calves have been in short supply, and moderate request, at full prices. Pigs have been disposed of at about late rates.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3 8	to 4 0	Pr. coarse wooled	6 2	6 8
Second quality	5 0	5 4	Prime Southdown	6 10	7 0
Prime large oxen	5 6	5 8	Lge coarse calves	3 8	4 6
Prime Scots	5 8	5 10	Prime small	5 0	5 8
Coarse inf. sheep	4 4	5 0	Large hogs	3 6	4 0
Second quality	5 2	6 0	Neat sm. porkers	4 0	4 8

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Oct 30.—Fair supplies of meat have been on sale. The trade has been slow, at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 1,007 packages from Hamburg, 61 Harlingen, 129 Tonning, and 14 from Rotterdam.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
Inferior beef	3 4	to 4 0	Middling do.	4 8	to 5 2
Middling do.	4 2	4 6	Prime do.	5 4	5 8
Prime large do.	4 8	5 0	Large pork	3 4	4 4
Prime small do.	5 2	5 4	Small do.	4 6	5 4
Veal	5 0	5 4	Lamb	0 0	0 0
Inferior Mutton	3 10	4 4			

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Friday, Oct. 27.—A very steady business is maintained, and prices are rather in favour of sellers. Rough vegetables are abundant and good. Foreign produce ample, and large quantities are offered from ports of shipment, comprising pears, apples, lemons, nuts, grapes, and pomegranates, which realise fair prices under the hammer. The principal flowers on sale are heaths, crysanthemums, asters, and fushias.

PROVISIONS, Monday, Oct. 30.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 1,344 firkins butter and 4,472 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 25,589 packages butter and 1,904 bales and 20 boxes bacon. The sale for Irish butter has been slow during the past week, and in any business transacted prices were in favour of buyers. Best Dutch advanced about 4s. per cwt. In other descriptions of foreign no change. The bacon market has ruled dull, and a further decline of 4s. per cwt. was submitted to.

HOPS.—BOROUGH, Monday, Oct. 30.—Fine qualities being now nearly exhausted, buyers begin to turn their attention to the lower grades, prices of which are extremely firm. The proportion of the last growth which remains unsold is now exceedingly small, and even with the present quiet consumptive trade must soon be cleared off. The demand for English yearlings is still sustained, and fancy prices are paid for the choicest samples. During the past few days considerable parcels of 1868 Americans have changed hands at an advance on last week. Mid and East Kent, 10*l*., 12*l*. 12s., to 16*l*. 16s.; Weald, 8*l*. 10s., 9*l*. 9s., to 10*l*. 10s.; Sussex, 7*l*. 5s., 8*l*., to 9*l*. 9s.; Farnham and country, 11*l*., 13*l*. to 16*l*. Yearlings.—Mid and East Kent, 3*l*., 4*l*. 4s., to 6*l*. 10s.; Weald of Kent, 3*l*., 4*l*., to 5*l*. 15s.; Sussex, 3*l*., 3*l*. 10s., to 5*l*. 0s.; Farnham and country, 4*l*. 10s. 5*l*. 5s., to 6*l*.; Olds, 1*l*. 5s., 1*l*. 10s, to 2*l*. 0s.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Oct. 30.—A moderate supply of potatoes has been on sale. The demand has been to a fair extent, at about late rates. The import into London last week consisted of 13 bags from Rotterdam, 12 barrels from Bremen, 24 bags from Hamburg, and 42 baskets from Amsterdam. Regents, 70s. to 110s. per ton; Rocks, 70s. to 85s. per ton.; Flukes, 100s. to 120s. per ton.; Victorias, 110s. to 120s.

OIL, Monday, Oct. 30.—Linseed oil has been quiet. Rape has been less active. In other oils not much business has been doing.

SEED, Monday, Oct. 30.—English cloverseed does not yet come forward. Fine samples of German red were held with more firmness, at higher prices. Foreign white seed was very dear, but little business passing in it. Fine new trefoil was held for more money, and all good qualities of old were quite as dear. Foreign canaryseed was offered at reduced rates, and taken very slowly. White mustardseed was unaltered in price, brown samples were scarce and wanted. Winter tares were offered freely at less money, some quantity being on hand.

WOOL, Monday, Oct. 30.—A steady tone has pervaded the wool market; transactions, without being extensive, have been on a fair average scale, at full prices.

TALLOW, Monday, Oct. 30.—The market is very firm. Y.C., spot, 48s. per cwt. Town tallow, 46s. 3d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, Oct. 30.—An advance on last day's sales. Hettons Wallsend, 20s. 3d.; Hettons Lyons, 18s. 3d.; Harton, 18s. 3d.; Hartlepool, original, 20s. 3d.; ditto East, 19s. 9d.; ditto Main, 19s. 9d.; Hawthorn, 18s.; Kelloe, 19s.; Lambtons, 19s. 6d.; Holywell Main, 17s. 6d.; Tees, 20s. Ships fresh arrived, 35; ships left from last day, 5. Total, 40. Ships at sea, 20.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—LUNGS, LIVER, AND KIDNEYS.—A large number of internal maladies arise from obstructions, over the removal of which these celebrated Pills exercise the most perfect control. A course of them is strongly recommended as a remedy for almost all chronic affections—as liver complaint, congestion of the lungs, torpidity of the liver, and other functional disorders which cause much present suffering and, if neglected, lay the foundation for incurable diseases. Holloway's Pills are especially adapted for the young and delicate. Their gentle and purifying action places them above all other medicines. In indigestion, nervous affections, gout, and rheumatism these Pills have raised for themselves a universal fame. They expel all impurities from the blood, and they restore cheerfulness and vigour.

Advertisements.

TO PARENTS and GUARDIANS.—Mr. Balding, Dentist, 5, Oxford-terrace, Upper Holloway, N., has a VACANCY for a PUPIL. An Active, Intelligent Youth would have a Comfortable Christian Home, with every facility for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the profession.

ON MONDAY NEXT a Course of PSALMODY EXERCISES will commence at PARK-CRESCENT CHURCH, PARK-ROAD, CLAPHAM.

They will be held on Monday Evenings through the Winter from 7.30 to 9 o'clock. Singing at Sight, in Four-Part Harmony, from the Established Notation, will be taught at these Exercises, by the Figure System of Waite, &c. Tune-Books, Sixpence and a Shilling each, may be had at the doors. No charge will be made for admission.

URGENT APPEAL!

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK-HILL: OFFICE, 73, CHEAPSIDE, E.C.

The oldest and one of the most economically conducted Institutions of its kind. Founded in 1758. Incorporated, 1848.

THE SCHOOL has accommodation for 400 Children, BUT IS NOT FULL FOR WANT OF FUNDS.

120 Candidates are applying for admission.

The Annual Income required is about		£10,000
The Income from Property is only	£2,200	
That from Subscriptions averages	2,400	
		£4,600
Amount still to be raised annually		5,400

1st. By additional Annual Subscriptions; 2nd, by Donations; 3rd, by Collections after sermons and other means.

The education given to the children is of the most useful kind, and many who have left are now occupying positions of trust.

JOHN KEMP WELCH, Treasurer.
JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

Contributions will be thankfully received by the following Members of the Committee, by the Treasurer, by the London Joint Stock Bank, Princes-street (at all its Branches), and at the Office of the Charity.

Mr. Warren Hall, 88, Camden-road, N.W.
Mr. William Holt, 50, Bunhill-row, E.C.
Mr. E. Homan, Friern Watch, Whetstone.
Mr. G. S. Measom, St. Margaret's, Twickenham, S.W.
Mr. Taylor Pritchard, 448, Camden-road, N.
Mr. Basil Woodd Smith, Branch Hill Lodge, Hampstead, N.
Mr. Edward T. Sturge, Bridge Wharf, City-road, E.C.
Mr. George Sturge, Sydenham-hill, S.E.
Mr. James Toleman, 17, Goswell-road, E.C.
Mr. Charles Tyler, 317, Holloway-road, N.
Mr. W. T. Whelpton, 73, Avenue-road, N.W.
Mr. W. N. Wortley, Hornsey House, Highgate, N.

Also by Messrs. Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners-street, W., Messrs. W. D. and H. O. Wills, Bristol.

To constitute a Governor, a donation of £10 10s. and upwards is required; or £1 1s. and upwards annually. A Life Subscriber £5 5s., or 10s. 6d. annually, entitling to votes in proportion to the sum contributed.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM, for the EDUCATION of the SONS of MINISTERS.

At the close of the Election on Tuesday, Oct. 31, G. H. Frean, Esq., in the chair, the following were the successful candidates:—

C. N. Lewis	2,123
B. Kettle	2,074
J. H. Bennett	1,480

JOSIAH VINEY, Hon. Sec.

VERY URGENT APPEAL.

THE ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE for INFANTS, HORNSEY-RISE, near London, is greatly distressed for want of Funds. It maintains 118 Infants; but there is room for 200. The Charity has no endowment: but is greatly in debt. Infants should be nominated at once for the next election. Contributions are earnestly solicited.

JOSEPH SOUL, Sec.

Office, 73, Cheapside, E.C.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF NONCONFORMISTS.

In accordance with a resolution passed at a joint meeting of the Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham Nonconformist Committees, a general CONFERENCE of NONCONFORMISTS will be held in MANCHESTER, on the 13th and 14th DECEMBER next, to consider "The Educational Policy of the Government, the general relations of Nonconformists to the Liberal Party, and the necessity of organising the political power of Nonconformists throughout the kingdom, for the promotion and defence of the principles of Religious Equality."

The Conference will be composed of Delegates from Nonconformist Congregations. Delegates from Local Nonconformist Committees, Delegates from any Nonconformist Organisation, such as the Baptist Union, the Congregational Union, the Committee for Sufferings (Society of Friends), Delegates from Nonconformist Meetings called for the purpose of supporting the aims of the Conference, and individuals whose presence the Committee may deem desirable.

Names and addresses of Delegates and all other communications to be forwarded to Mr. Jameson, 68, Brown-street, Manchester.

As far as possible, accommodation will be provided for friends from a distance.

We are, dear Sir, yours,

ALEX. THOMSON, M.A.	Hon. Secs. of
JOS. CORBETT,	Manchester Com.
R. W. DALE, M.A.	Hon. Secs. of
H. W. CROSKEY, F.G.S.	Birmingham Com.
J. J. STITT, J.P.,	Hon. Secs. of
WM. CROSFIELD, J.P.	Liverpool Com.

SUNDAY LECTURE SOCIETY.

The LECTURES will be resumed at ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LANGHAM-PLACE, on SUNDAY, 5th November, 1871. Each afternoon at Four o'clock precisely.

November 5, W. G. CLARK, M.A., late Public Orator of Camb. University, on "True and False Protestantism."

Member's Annual Subscription, £1. Tickets for each Series of Eight Lectures to the Shilling Reserved Seats, 5s. 6d.; to the Sixpenny Seats, 2s.

For Tickets, apply (by letter) to the Hon. Treasurer, Wm. Henry Domville, Esq., 15, Gloucester-crescent, Hyde Park, W. Payment at the door, One Penny, Sixpence, and (Reserved Seats) One Shilling.

ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISM in WALES.

The rapid increase of population, the great influx of English people, and the increasing prevalency of the English language, demand the establishment of English interests in all parts of South Wales. In 1860 a Society was formed to meet this great exigency. Since then thirty-five new English chapels have been erected, four old ones that had been for years closed have been reopened for English worship, and many weak and languishing churches have had fresh life and vigour infused into them; yet the work is not half done, and the Society, by endeavouring to meet the most pressing cases, has sunk into a debt of £300, and that at a time when its annual income aught to be doubled.

This simple statement of facts was made at one of the Union meetings in Swansea, and the responses below were generously sent to the Chairman. One hundred and twenty pounds are yet wanting in order to claim Mr. Sommerville's fifty pounds. It is hoped that this appeal will bring in the above sum, as well as a small addition to the annual income of the Society.

All remittances to be sent either to the Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Williams, Goitre, Merthyr Tydfil; or to the Rev. John Davies, Cardiff.

PROMISES RECEIVED AT SWANSEA.

Mr. W. Sommerville, Bristol (last of £300)	£50	0	0
Mr. John Snow, London	5	5	0
Mr. Thomas Pidduck, Hanley	5	0	
Mr. E. M. Richards, M.P.	10	0	0
Mr. Thomas Minshall, Oswestry	5	0	0
Mr. E. Phillips, Machen	5	0	0
Proprietors of the "Christian World"	10	0	0
Mr. John Jones Jenkins, Moriston	10	0	0
Mr. George Baines, Leicester	5	0	0
Mr. W. Crossfield, Liverpool (annual)	5	0	0
Mr. Henry Richard, M.P.	5	0	0
Mr. D. Parker Evans	5	0	0
"Essex"	5	0	0
Mr. E. Grimwade, Ipswich	10	0	0
Mr. W. P. Sibree	5	0	0
Mr. J. Mordy, Workington	5	0	0
——— ———, Devonan	1	0	0
Mr. J. Wilson Buckley, Guildford	5	0	0
Mr. R. W. White, Blackeney	5	0	0
Mr. W. H. Conyers, Leeds (annual)	5	0	0
——— ———, Stowmarket	5	0	0
Mr. W. Douglas Johnston, Montrose	5	0	0
Rev. Llewellyn Bevan, LL.B., London	5	0	0
ADDITIONAL,			
F. S.	50	0	0

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.—

The new expedition, under the command of Captain R. W. STEWART, R.E., has started for the Holy Land. Its object will be to accomplish the Survey of the whole country West of the Jordan; the American Society having undertaken that of the East. It will be joined by Mr. C. F. TYRWHITT DRAKE, the explorer, with Mr. PALMER, of the Desert of the Tih. The instructions of Captain Stewart include archæological researches, examination and excavation of mounds wherever practicable; collection of names, photographs, sketches, and plans of ruins; reports on natural history, &c., &c. The Committee commend the support of this expedition to all persons interested in the Holy Land. For further particulars application may be made at the Office of the Fund. The results of the work will be regularly issued in the Quarterly Statement of the Society.

W. BESANT, Secretary.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary, 9, Pall Mall East, or to the Society's Bankers, the Union Bank of London, Charing-cross Branch, and Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand.

THE HOSPITAL for WOMEN, SOHO SQUARE, W.

Many a sorrowing and disappointed out-patient is sent away to linger in pain, or die in agony, when an operation would probably restore her to health, or medical treatment would alleviate her sufferings. Will not like sick ones enjoying the blessings of affluence, for the sake of Him who went about healing the sick, and who was full of compassion for their misery, assist a few of their suffering sisters, by contributing a trifle towards the maintenance of at least one bed, the yearly cost of which is £30. From lack of funds, several now stand empty; and towards filling one of these donations will be gratefully accepted by Lady Flora Knox, 10, Gloucester-place, Portman-square, W.

NOTICE.—The Rev. ROBERT ASHTON

has REMOVED to 5, BERESFORD-ROAD, Highbury New Park, N.

THREE LARGE GALVANISED and CORRUGATED IRON BUILDINGS FOR SALE or HIRE,

to hold respectively 300, 200, and 100 persons. Suitable for churches, chapels, or schoolrooms. Apply to Geo. Vavasseur, Barnsdale-road, Harrow-road, W.

MILL HILL SCHOOL, MIDDLESEX.

HEAD MASTER—

RICHARD F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D. Lit. and M.A., Fellow of Univ. Coll., Lond.; Member of the Council of the Philological Society, &c., &c.

SECOND MASTER—

H. TAYLOR, Esq., M.A., Queen's Coll., Oxford; Double First in Moderations, and 2nd Class in the Final Classical School; also M.A. and late Scholar of Trin. Coll. Camb., 14th in 1st Class in Classical Tripos, and 1st Chancellor's Medallist, 1868.

ASSISTANT MASTERS—

A. H. SCOTT WHITE, Esq., B.A., Priseman in Anglo-Saxon and Early English of Univ. Coll., London.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Esq., F.E.I.S., Member of the Council of the Philological Society, one of the Editors of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Author of "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," &c., &c.

JAMES NETTLESHIP, Esq., B.A., Scholar and Prizeman of Christ's Coll., Camb.; 2nd Class Classical Trivos, 1866

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The Directors deplore the great loss which the Company has sustained through the removal by death (within a fortnight of each other) of the lamented Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Messrs. Edmund Dunn and John Smither. From the foundation of the Company, until the close of their lives, they discharged their duties as Directors with earnest fidelity. The vacancies at the Board have been filled up until the Annual Meeting, by the election of Mr. Henry Potter Olney (of the firm of Messrs. Olney, Amsden and Co.), and of Dr. Edward Bean Underhill (Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society).

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*** Earl Russell communicated to the College of Physicians that he had received a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Manilla, to the effect that Cholera has been raging fearfully, and that the ONLY remedy of any service was CHLORODYNE.—See *Lancet*, Dec. 31, 1864.

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CAUTION.—Vice-Chancellor Sir W. PAGE WOOD stated that Dr. J. COLLIS BROWNE was undoubtedly the Inventor of CHLORRDYNE; that the story of the Defendant, Freeman, was deliberately untrue, which, he regretted to say, had been sworn to.—See *Times*, 13th July, 1864.

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SUPPLEMENT
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VOL. XXXII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1354.] LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOV. 1, 1871. [GRATIS.

Literature.

*MR. DALE ON "THE TEN COMMANDMENTS."**

This volume has the characteristics that mark Mr. Dale as a preacher, and which have given him so high a place among the English preachers of the day. They are robust in sentiment, vigorous in treatment, clear in style, and thorough in thinking. Some of the discourses are somewhat too diffuse in parts. The author is never wearisome in his arguments; these are compact and lucid. But the illustrations, especially those drawn from the daily life of his hearers and readers, are expanded beyond what is needful for practical impression.

A volume on "The Ten Commandments" must necessarily deal with controversies, old and new; nor have these been shirked in Mr. Dale's processes of thought. But he has, wisely as we think, avoided giving his book a polemical character. Those who are nothing if not controversial, may perhaps be dissatisfied with the peaceful character preserved in the discourses; but even such must see that on the main points, which are matters of argument in his subject, Mr. Dale has not avoided either a careful weighing of theological topics or a sufficiently clear indication of his theological position. This may fairly be looked for in an intelligent preacher in sympathy with the thought of his times, but more than this ought not to be demanded. It is a positive advantage that Mr. Dale has answered questions practically instead of polemically, and solved many of them in a devout and peaceable, instead of a controversial way. The general position taken in this volume is that "The Ten "Commandments" are not a perfect ethical system, but that they are more than mere political or social regulations; they are a part of the Divine revelation, aiming to train and discipline the religious life of the world as well as to give to an almost barbarous people a code to regulate their national life. Instead of saying with another eminent theologian and useful preacher, "We did not come out of Egypt," so affirming that these commandments are not for us, Mr. Dale points out the higher obligations of Christendom. He does not regard God as ceasing to command, because we are "not under "law but under grace." He says that "to us "to whom God has made far nobler revelations "and manifested an infinitely greater love, He "has given precepts requiring a far loftier per-"fection." Because they are part of the Divine revelation, "they can never become "obsolete. The changing circumstances of the "human race cannot destroy the significance "and worth of any institutions or facts which "reveal the life of God." The discourse on the fourth commandment is an excellent illustration of the style of treatment indicated in this extract. Mr. Dale, "dismissing all arbitrary "fancies about a primitive Sabbath," points out that the "definite command" on which the Jewish Sabbath was founded, the authoritative determination of the particular day, the express definition of its purpose, and the manner in which it was to be kept, and the special sanction which defended the law of the Sabbath, are all of the essence of the institution; and these being changed for Christians, the fourth commandment is abrogated for them. But there is in the discourse none of the wantonness which has marked some discussions of the Sabbath question. He goes tenderly and devoutly into the moral and spiritual necessities which demand a day of rest and worship, and the effect of his exposition must be to make his readers feel the obligation and privilege of the Christian Sunday more sacred than ever.

There is great practical wisdom, too, in the clause we now quote, directly opposed as it is to much of the theology of the Reformation:—

"There can be no doubt that God intended that these commandments should be kept. This may seem to be a very unnecessary observation; but it is my conviction that there are many religious people who have quite a different theory from this about the intention of Divine laws. They suppose that the commandments of God are principally intended to bring us to a sense of our guilt, and to suggest to us the sins for which we have to ask God's forgiveness. The thought of actually obeying them, and obeying them perfectly, scarcely ever occurs to them."

How keen and searching, again, is this exposure of a common error:—

"These commandments deal chiefly with actions, not with mere thought or emotion. Man is not a pure intellect or a disembodied passion. God's laws, therefore, which deal with man as he is, take large account of his external conduct. . . . Evangelical Christians rather resent sermons on the moral virtues, and greatly prefer to be preached to about the spiritual affections. They know that they must watch against sins of the heart, but appear to imagine that the outward conduct may be left to look after itself. There are, I believe, many good people who when they are betrayed by a hasty temper into speaking harshly, unjustly, and cruelly, are very much more troubled about the sinfulness of their 'state of mind' than about the wickedness of their words."

Occasionally, Mr. Dale's arguments are *ad captandum* and unsatisfactory. This is so, partially, in the wise and beautiful sermon on the Fifth Commandment; where no account is taken of the claims of a child upon its parents on the ground that the parents chose to bring the child into being, whereas the child did not choose to be born. The great mystery which underlies this, the claims of moral creatures on Him who chose and ordained their birth, is one of the most difficult problems in theology; and it demands to be treated, reverentially but fully, by anyone who addresses himself to modern difficulties in connection with Divine government and redemption. In the sharp rebuke administered by Mr. Dale, and rightly, to the tendency in modern society to a lenient judgment of sins of impurity, there is a one-sidedness of the same character. He would "absolutely exclude from all claims to consi-"deration," he would "sternly, relentlessly "repel" women who have sinned against chastity "until they repent." He would indeed measure out the same penalty to men; but he seems to us to have overlooked the Christian obligation to win the fallen to repentance as well as to receive and restore the penitent. "The Son of Man came *to seek*" as well as "to "save" the lost.

The same sort of oblivion of the great end of the Gospel is manifest in the discourse on the Sixth Commandment. The Christian argument against capital punishment and war is not stated by Mr. Dale at all; the principle, not of tolerating evil, but of "overcoming evil with good." It is no pedantic reading of the words "Thou "shalt not kill" nor any mean excessive regard for mere life when compared with other objects, that animates so many in their oppposition to war and criminal executions. It is the belief that the endurance of wrong on the part of the good is a more emphatic protest against wrong, and will ultimately prove a surer method of preventing and subduing evil, than the short sharp way of visiting it with even the solemn vengeance of society.

Mr. Dale's zeal on this point has betrayed him into what is not common with him—a transparent fallacy. He says:—

"What is meant by the common phrase 'the sacredness of human life' it is not easy to understand. There are many things which, for me, are more sacred than my life. 'The sacredness of life!' My loyalty to Christ is infinitely more sacred. Rather than deny Him, I must surrender myself to the most cruel death. The authority of Truth is more sacred. I must die rather than abjure a single article of my creed. Honesty is more sacred. Rather than be guilty of the slightest fraud, I myself must perish, and I must see those I love best perish too."

"The ultimate principle of the law," says Mr. Dale, "does not consist in what is commonly called 'the sacredness of human life,' but in the dignity and greatness of man, who was made in the image of God, and whom it is, therefore, a kind of sacrilege wantonly to destroy."

How is it possible to connect "the dignity "and greatness of man" with the special commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," save by bringing in that idea of "the sacredness of "human life" which Mr. Dale finds it so hard to understand? "The sacredness of human "life" is, in fact, the middle term in which the commandment and the idea of "the dignity "and greatness of man" meet. The possibilities of dignity and greatness in any individual man, unreached by him as yet, but which we hope, by sparing him, we may have opportunities of helping him to attain, do plead with many that he may be spared. Mr. Dale remembers making speeches in debating societies, "I am afraid "to say how many years ago—speeches which I "hoped were eloquent, and which I felt sure "were unanswerable." May we hint that he is not wholly free from the rhetorical impulse still?

We have dwelt at such length on these defects in a volume whose general excellence is very high, for two reasons. Misapprehension of the real sentiments of excellent men may be conveyed by *ex parte* arguments against them. And furthermore, there are grave theological questions underlying all these ethical discussions—questions which we should rejoice to see Mr. Dale earnestly grapple with.

* *The Ten Commandments.* By R. W. DALE, M.A., author of "Week-day Sermons," &c. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

THE QUARTERLIES.

It is curious sometimes to mark how our great reviews continually run in the same line of topic, and it is especially interesting to observe the diversity of treatment which the same subject receives at different hands, and the influence which association or prejudice will, often, no doubt, quite unconsciously, exercise even on points which are not directly affected by the variety of political or religious opinion. The "Commune of Paris" has occupied so much attention, that we are not surprised to find it the subject of an article both in the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, but it is not one of the class of subjects to which we refer. On the contrary, it has such close relations to our own political life, that we might expect to find it discussed as it is in both those reviews under the influence of their own political tendencies. Liberal as the *Edinburgh* is, and in some points, as we noticed last week, more Liberal in the present number than usual, it could not be expected to regard the doings of the Commune with approval. Still, in telling the story, it points out fairly the extreme weakness and folly of the Assembly at Versailles, and it shows how the constitution of that reactionary body, the irritation which their wild and impolitic doings continually created in Paris, and the criminal negligence of the Government, serve to explain, and in some degree even to extenuate, though they cannot justify, the democratic insurrection. We see that movement now in the lurid light which was cast upon it by the terrible atrocities of the last few days of the struggle. Had the end been of another character the judgment of the earlier proceedings of the Commune would have been more lenient, and the *Edinburgh* reviewer deserves credit for the extent to which he has kept himself free from the influence which the horrors amid which the tragedy closed might have exerted upon him. The *Quarterly* writes in a different tone. Its desire is to identify the Commune with the International, and to use it as a helot, in whose fearful crimes the English nation may see the perils of Liberalism. It requires some ingenuity in a writer to find in the Commune a text on which to base a homily against Mr. Gladstone and the party of progress in this country, but the reviewer is quite equal to the occasion. The first French Revolution was so skilfully used by the Tories of that day that it arrested the progress of Reform in this country for half a century. Why should not the Communal revolt be made to serve an equally useful purpose in our own day? Unhappily for such speculations, the tone and temper of the times are essentially different, and the *Quarterly* will find that it has done a very questionable service to its party by the line of argument adopted in the present article. Evidently it has learned nothing from experience, and still believes that a policy of stolid resistance is sound Conservatism.

Mr. Jowett's "Plato," unquestionably the great work of the year, receives from both these reviews the elaborate and commendatory notice it so well deserves. Both do justice to the eminent scholarship of the translator, to the remarkable insight which has enabled him so thoroughly to enter into and develope the

teaching of "Plato" in its spirit as well as its letter, to the grace and beauty which he has thrown around the translation, so as to give it all the freshness and attraction of an original work. Both are manifestly from the hands of ripe and practical scholars, who discuss the merits of the work with a discrimination which makes their high praise the more valuable. The *Edinburgh*, in particular, takes "Symposium," which, it says, is "the least exactly translated "in all these volumes," and in a spirit of friendly criticism endeavours "to pick all the "holes we are able in Professor Jowett's render-"ing of it." The survey is very close, some of the criticisms extremely minute, and the result is only to justify the high estimate which has been formed of the translation as a whole. If in its weakest points there is so little to which exception can be taken, we may be assured that the English reader has now an opportunity of understanding "Plato" such as he has never enjoyed before, and we may join in the expectation of the reviewer "that 'Plato' will now be "not only more widely studied, but also more "truly understood than at any previous period "of the world's history." The *London Quarterly* has also an article on the same subject, which shows a considerable amount of ability and research.

Among the most remarkable papers of the *Quarterly* is one on "Spiritualism and its Recent "Converts," in which the author discusses the evidence adduced in support of the alleged spiritual phenomena, shows how much of it is unreliable, and suggests a scientific theory which may account for the facts that are really proved, without resorting to the idea of spiritual manifestations. The article deserves attention because of the familiarity which the writer shows, not only with the "spirit manifesta-"tions," but with facts of a cognate character; and for the scientific spirit in which the subject is discussed. The relative claims of "Byron "and Tennyson" form the subject of an article which contains a good deal of delicate criticism, the object being to correct the popular estimate of the two poets, though rather by securing a higher position for Byron than by an unfair depreciation of Tennyson. In much that is said we agree, but we protest against the attempt to represent the healthy moral sentiment which resents Byron's offences against virtue and decency as a display of bigotry. Byron is a melancholy example of a man who abused great gifts, and he is only suffering a righteous retribution when, in consequence of his outrages on morality, he loses some of the reputation to which his great intellectual power would otherwise have entitled him. We must not omit to mention the paper on "Industrial "Monopolies," which is full of information and important suggestions.

The *Edinburgh* has a very interesting article on "European Adventurers in India," in which it sketches the story of a few clever and daring Europeans—De Boigne, Perron, George Thomas, and Colonel Skinner—who, in virtue of their own daring and talent, secured for themselves posts of influence at Indian Courts, and played a prominent part in the various wars of the country. In a paper on "Game and Game "Laws" it insists that game should be treated as property and poaching dealt with as a simple act of theft. A very Whiggish article on the tenure of land is intended to discredit those demands for a strong measure of reform, but the admissions the writer is compelled to make are so damaging to his argument, that those who desire most to keep things as they are may be tempted to say, "Save us from our friends." If "many of us have watched with their own "eyes the outward evidences of that change "which our decennial census seems to confirm "—the actual depopulation of not inconsider-"able tracts of country, the shrinkings of the "village, the disappearance of the knot of cot-"tages, the effacing of local colour, the conso-"lidation of some little district of varied rural "features into a dull tract composed of a few "large fields and dotted at great distances with "spacious farmhouses," and if "the decayed "village, isolated in a wide tract of arable land, "with the site of former streets only indicated "by the inequalities of surface which mark the "ground plan, is no imaginary picture now, "nor confined to Ireland," the time is come for carefully dealing with a problem whose difficulties will not be diminished by delay. We are glad to see that, inclined as he is to the *laissez faire* policy, the reviewer advocates a restriction on the right of entail.

The *British Quarterly* is varied, interesting, and able, but it is principally occupied with articles which do not demand any special notice from us. Dr. Carl Ullmann, a distinguished representative of German theology, is the subject of a carefully-written biography, rich in information not only as to the man, but as to the theological movements in which he had a part. The papers on the "Romance of the "Rose," and "Letters and Letter-writing," have considerable literary merit. Mr. Darwin's theory is criticised with great acumen and fairness, and the sketch of "Aerial Voyages" is lively and attractive. Two papers are devoted to the deeds and sufferings of two other Christian communities, and the spirit in which they are written is eminently creditable to the Catholicity of the *British Quarterly*. The "Early Sufferings of the Free Church of Scot-"land" are little known to Englishmen, and we are glad that such ample justice should be done to the heroism of the men who carried out the greatest ecclesiastical movement of modern times. As an historical survey, the account of "Wesley and Wesleyanism" is accurate, candid, and just.

The *Westminster* has a paper on the "Bap-"tists," which has naturally attracted a good deal of attention. Perhaps few were prepared to find here so much acquaintance with the internal life of the denomination, and still less so much of sympathetic admiration. No doubt it would be possible to point out inaccuracies, but the surprising thing is that there are not more. That their theological peculiarities would not be favourably regarded by the *Westminster* was certain, and also that they would be represented in a light which the Baptists and their friends would not approve. None of us are likely to be much delighted with the representations of our opinions and practices given by "Liberal" theologians, but the Baptists may well be pleased with such testimonies as these. "Their "ministers have been no flatterers of the great, "no panders of kings, and, like the Indepen-"dents, or rather say Dissenters generally, "they have always been bold to resist oppres-"sion. They were no friends of tyrants. In "England they have been among the foremost "asserters of the right of men to free thought "and action." The Church of which this can be said has won for itself no mean place. Our space forbids us to do more than name the able papers on "The Pilgrim Fathers," "Chaucer," "Greek Democracy," and "Fara-"day." The number is of a superior order.

In the *London Quarterly*, besides the articles previously noticed, we have a pleasant paper on "Somersetshire," an able discussion of the difficulties connected with the treatment of "Pauperism," and a scientific essay on "Flints "and their Evidence."

MR. GLADSTONE AT GREENWICH.

Mr. Gladstone paid his promised visit to his constituents at Greenwich on Saturday afternoon at three o'clock. A covered hustings had been erected on the north-eastern corner of Blackheath, in front of which from 10,000 to 15,000 persons had assembled, who, on the whole, conducted themselves throughout the proceedings in the most orderly and creditable manner. Upon the hustings were the Lord Mayor, the two sheriffs, Sir David Salomons, M.P., Mr. Angerstein, Mr. Charles Reed, M.P., Mr. J. H. Palmer, M.P., Mr. H. James, M.P., Sir E. Watkin, Mr. R. Eykyn, M.P., Mr. Algernon West, Mr. Glyn, M.P., Mr. G. Potter, the Rev. Mr. Jowett, Mr. C. Eborall, the Rev. N. Hall, Mr. Baxter Langley, and the Rev. J. Rogers. Precisely at the hour appointed, the Premier, accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone, drove up to the hustings in an open carriage. The right hon. gentleman was received with enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. ANGERSTEIN, having been requested to take the chair, briefly introduced Mr. Gladstone as the greatest statesman of the age. His speech was not audible ten feet from the platform.

Then Mr. GLADSTONE stood forward, bareheaded, and was loudly called upon to put his hat on. He took no notice of the request, but began in a steady, determined voice to appeal for indulgence in regard to his discharge of local duties. He then made a brief reference to the state of Greenwich Hospital, expressing a hope that when Mr. Goschen's plans were matured that institution would be applied to a purpose satisfactory alike to them and to the country. Passing from these local topics, he proceeded to justify the course taken by the Government during the past session. He said it was not always possible for a Government to choose what measures it should or should not lay before Parliament. Though they had not carried all their measures, he maintained that public opinion required that all which had been produced should at least be attempted. Then, as to the charge that because hey had so large a majority they ought to have done more, he had to inform his hearers that the present was the first Liberal Government which had ever subsisted for three years with a large majority. The Government of Lord Grey, which had an enormous majority returned to support it in the month of December, 1832, survived 1833, but in May, 1834, it was broken by schism. In June, 1834, Lord Grey was put out, and in November, 1834, that Government was finally extinguished. The Government of Lord Palmerston in the year 1857, when he appealed to the country, obtained a majority of about eighty. That was in the month of February, 1857, and in the month of February, 1858, the Government of Lord Palmerston was displaced by a vote of the House of Commons. In 1866 the Government of Lord Russell met Parliament with another large majority—a majority of seventy, and before the end of that session the Government of Lord Russell came to be counted with the things that were. The present Government, however, were still "alive and kicking"; there was pith in them yet, and he was not there to make their last dying speech and confession.

The right hon. gentleman then referred to the great measures which the Government undertook when they assumed office, and contended that they had been successful. With regard to the Acts passed for the benefit of Ireland, he said: "It would be premature to anticipate too confidently their ultimate results, but I feel justified in saying that of all I addressed to you in December, 1868, there is no part or portion which it is needful for me to qualify or retract. In the face of the three countries and in the face of civilised mankind, this Legislature has made a great effort to do justice, and all that has taken place leads me to the confident expectation that that effort will be crowned with success." Another object which the Government had in view was public economy. "It has been said—and said with confidence—that we have practised economy with gross inequality and partially—that we have dismissed clerks, that we have dismissed dockyard labourers, and that when we have had the opportunity we have refused to touch the sinecurist or the official functionary of a higher position." If they trust to the representations of speakers or of journalists of a certain class, this dismissal of dockyard labourers was, first of all, a crime; and, secondly, a crime committed by the present Government alone. But the closing of needless establishments was a duty, and their creation ought not to be allowed except upon urgent necessity. As a matter of fact, however, the late Government dismissed 4,359 men, while the present Government had dismissed but 1,463. Both administrations, however, had but carried out a plan previously sanctioned by Parliament. Coming now to the allegation that the reduction had only affected the lower grade of officials and left untouched valuable patronage, Mr. Gladstone said that within a few weeks after the formation of the Government one of the most eligible pieces of patronage fell vacant by the death of a commissioner of inland revenue, with a salary of 1,200*l.* a-year. It was reported to him that the maintenance of that office was unnecessary, and he immediately directed it should be abolished. The next eligible piece of patronage that presented itself was a commissionership of the Board of Customs. With respect to that office, it was reported that it could not be abolished; but there was another office in the same department, the office of the receiver, with the same salary of 1,200*l.* a-year, that might be abolished. The course the Government took was this—they transferred the receiver to the commissionership, and abolished the office of receiver. "I won't trouble you," said the right hon. gentleman, "with details; but I meet with an indignant denial, and with a confident, if not a contemptuous challenge, the declaration of those who say that we have spared our own patronage while we have dismissed clerks and workmen." Furthermore, the appointment of clerks to the civil offices of the country had been thrown open to public competition. "The transition is now nearly complete, and, with regard to the future, I can say that as to the clerkships in my own office—the office of the Treasury—every one of you has just as much power over their disposal as I have." But it was further said, "that our economies have been so injudicious that they have resulted in increased charge." That was a simple error on the part of those who asserted it.

We did reduce the estimates that our predecessors handed over to us by 2,000,000*l.* in the first year, and by 2,000,000*l.* in the second year, though we have been compelled by war in Europe to retrace, to a great extent, our steps; but, instead of purchasing that reduction by inefficiency, we combined it with increased efficiency. (Cheers.) We modified and restrained the absurd system under which we were maintaining in the present time a practice which may formerly have been reasonable, but which has now become a superstition—the practice by which the ships of England were scattered all over the world, whether they were wanted or whether they were not, and restraining the wanton and useless expenditure which was incurred in that matter; we at the same time did not reduce, but took effectual measures to strengthen, the real force of the country at home in powerful fleets, available, if need be, at any moment, for the defence of your shores. (Cheers.) And so it was with respect to the army. By the system of army reserves, and by withdrawing troops uselessly kept in the colonies, we obtained increased efficiency with economy. (Cheers.)

The right hon. gentleman turned from his defence of the way in which the Government had redeemed their promises of 1868 to other subjects which he placed in the first order of magnitude. They were the abolition of purchase, education, and the ballot. Dealing first with the army, he spoke of "the writers who seem to find a kind of luxury in panic and alarm, and endeavour to propagate those feelings throughout the country," a course of conduct which he regarded with little less of goodwill or sympathy than he would regard the propagation of the smallpox or the cattle-plague. The country had paid the money entailed by the abolition of purchase with cheerfulness, and had witnessed with satisfaction the downfall of a great monopoly. They were told by an influential ex-Minister (the Duke of Somerset) that they had an army that could not march, and by a gallant colone that it was a question not merely of the well-being

but of the very existence of the British army, such was the condition to which we were reduced.

Well, now, gentlemen, we have had time to receive back from foreign courts the most interesting reports made to their respective Governments by these distinguished officers; and I am rejoiced to inform you that their character is most encouraging—(cheers)—not only in every case, do they feel an unbounded—at least, a warm admiration—in order that I may avoid anything like hyperbole—not only do they express a warm admiration for the *matériel* both of officers and men, but in the various branches of the service, as to their efficiency, they speak in terms of the highest honour—(cheers)—and while, as friendly critics, they point out, as we knew they would point out, and as we hoped they would point out, the many matters in which we might further improve, they show the condition of the army, so far from justifying the ridiculous apprehensions that have gone abroad, to be one that ought to fill all England with hope and satisfaction, and to prove to us that, if it should please Providence to bring upon us the necessity, never was the country more able to intrust its defence to troops and to officers more worthy of their country or more certain to make that defence effectual. (Loud cheers.)

Coming then to the subject of education, he made some observations on the pending controversy as to denominational school fees.

Has there ever been—I would venture to say even to the most jealous critic of the Education Act—has there ever been achieved in this country so great a step in advance towards the attainment of an object which we believe to be vital to the welfare of the nation? (Cheers.) It is not all done at once; it cannot be all done at once. A great and comprehensive measure of that kind hardly can be perfect. The differences of opinion that prevail, in their very nature, make it quite impossible to meet the views of all. Indulgence, equity, the sacrifice of extreme opinions must be asked for in every quarter. (Cheers.) But I ask those who are least satisfied with the Education Act this one and simple question,—whether it is not a great stride, and a great stride achieved upon a path of real progress? (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, the objects of that measure shall be very shortly stated. (A cry of "Question!" and "Time!") Well, I admit that it is time; but what am I to do? (Cries of "Go on, go on.") The great object of all was to make education universal and effective. This was to be done; and in doing it we sought—and I think reason and common sense required us to seek—to turn to account for that purpose the vast machinery of education already existing in the country which has been devised and mainly provided by the Christian philanthropy and the voluntary action of the people. (Cheers.) That was the second condition under which the Act was framed. The third was—and I think it was not less wise than the two former—that we should endeavour to separate the action of the State, in the matter of education and the application of State funds, in which I include funds raised by rate, from all subjects in which, unhappily, religious differences prevail. (Cheers.) That I may say was the third principle of the measure, and the fourth principle, not less important than the others, was this, that we should trust for the attainment of these great objects as little as possible to the central Government and as much as possible to the local authorities and the self-governing power of the people. (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, let me say in passing that, in my opinion, if there be one portion of our institutions more precious than another, it is that portion in which the people are locally organised for the purpose of acquiring the habit and instincts of political action, and apply their own free conscience and free understanding to deal with the affairs of the community. (Cheers.) A most valuable Act was passed by Mr. Stansfeld in the last session of Parliament, which will, I trust, be the beginning of immense good in that respect, and I refer to it now because it touches upon that principle of the Education Act I have just mentioned, namely this—that as far as possible the application of that Act is to be left in the hands of the local authorities. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I am not surprised or disappointed, and I hope you are not either, if we find that some difficulties have arisen in the working out of the details of that Act. A great interest has been excited both in this and in other constituencies with respect to the payment of fees to denominational schools for the education of those children whose parents are found to be unable to bear the charge of their education. Now, perhaps, it will be a comfort to you to know that at least there is some hope that the extent of this grievance—of this difficulty—may not be very wide. In the town of Stockport, the education board had lately resolved to introduce the principle of compulsion which, as I have said, or as I have implied, was one of the principles of the Education Act. (Cheers.) They have, by issuing their notices on that subject, added 25 per cent. to the number of children attending school. (Cheers.) In 400 cases they have had to admonish the parents, and warn them that they would be punished unless they complied with the Act. But the whole amount of money applied—they have as yet no rate-schools in action, and therefore they have been obliged to allow all children to be sent to denominational schools—the whole amount of money they have as yet paid to such schools in aid of the poor parishes comes only to 47*l.* (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, I have no doubt that the question is a grave and serious question, and I will not now attempt to say more upon it than this—on the one hand we shall endeavour to adhere to that principle of the Act which aims at the severance between the application of State funds and controverted matters in religion; and on the other I must pause, for my own part, and I believe my colleagues would feel themselves obliged to pause before they could resolve to say to the parent desirous to send his child to a school of his own persuasion—compelled by public authority to send it to school, and unable to pay the charge—"If you attempt to send the child to a school of your own persuasion; if you don't consent to send him to a school the principles of which you disapprove—namely the rate-school, we shall send you to prison." (Hear, hear.) I don't think public opinion would sustain us in such a course. (Cheers.)

Next, as to the ballot, he expressed his belief that it had nearly reached its stage of final triumph. Speaking of the Contagious Diseases Acts, he said that the mode in which the Ministry proposed to deal with them "would be likely to command the general approval of the intelligent community." He also held out a hope that non-political legislation would form no inconsiderable part of the business of next session. There was, he continued, a question of the future on which they had heard much of late—the constitution of the House of Lords. He regarded their lordships' postponement of the Ballot Bill as a great and grievous error.

After the House of Commons, which had performed other and most serious labours for four or five months, had given the last six weeks of the session—six weeks of great labour—to maturing the Ballot Bill, it appears to me to have been a great and grievous error—I cannot call it otherwise—on the part of the House of Lords, in the second week of the month of August, to say that, really such was the time at which they had arrived, that it was impossible for them to give to that measure the number of days—not a very large number of days, according to all precedent—it might have required of them. (Cheers.) Why, in 1835 the House of Lords, which had a Conservative majority, in the face of the Whig Government, devoted not only the month of August, but carried into September the labours necessary for a subject not more important than the ballot, and for a subject which then came for the first time into public debate—namely, the subject of municipal corporations. But the House of Lords at that time was led by a great man—the Conservative majority was guided by the Duke of Wellington; and though I, for my own part, am not able on all other points to admire the statesmanship of the Duke of Wellington, I shall always profoundly admire the tact, the skill, the sound constitutional principle with which he managed the House of Lords so as to prevent the placing of that particular branch of the Legislature in dangerous conflict with the popular branch and with the sentiment of the country. (Cheers.)

Before committing himself to abandoning the hereditary principle, he would think once, twice, and even thrice. (Cheers.)

I have a shrewd suspicion in my mind that a very large proportion of the people of England have a sneaking kindness for this hereditary principle. (Cheers and laughter.) I don't mean, gentlemen, by that, that a large proportion of the people of England desire, or intend, or would permit that which I hope they never will desire, intend, or permit—namely, that the House of Lords should exercise a paramount influence over the legislation of the country. (Cheers.) That is quite another matter. But this I do say, that the people of England are not like the people of France, lovers of naked political equality. (Cheers.) England is a great lover of liberty, but of equality she has never been so much enamoured.

One proof of what he had said as to the liking of Englishmen for lords, Mr. Gladstone found in the composition of Mr. Scott Russell's council of legislation:—

Mr. Scott Russell seems to have cast his eyes around, and, after surveying the whole circuit of the community, he thought he had got a secret whereby the discords of classes could be removed. So he proceeded to organise a body of working men whom he considered in some degree—great or small, I don't say—to represent the working men on the one side, and he also organised a body to represent the other classes on the other side. Here was one body on one side, another body on the other side, and in the middle Mr. Scott Russell. (Laughter.) Mr. Scott Russell comes in communication with both of these bodies. He speaks first to the one and then to the other. (Laughter.) You have seen a clergyman in a large church when he gives out his text; he first of all looks to the people in one part of the church, and says, "You will find it written so and so," and then to the other side of the congregation, "You will find it so and so." (A laugh.) This is exactly, or almost exactly, what seems to have been done by Mr. Scott Russell. The only difference is this—that, unfortunately, Mr. Scott Russell gives a text out of one Testament to the people on this side, and a text out of the other Testament on the other side. (Much laughter.) But the point to which I wish to call your attention is this,—the description—it is a very narrow and a very clear one—which Mr. Scott Russell gives to the working men of the nature and composition of the body he had organised. He might have said, I have organised a body of educated, intelligent, independent men, and, perhaps, that would have occurred in another country. But what is the language he used? He said, I have organised this body, and what does it contain? It contains peers, lords, baronets, and one commoner—(laughter)—one solitary commoner among peers, lords, and baronets. (Continued laughter.) Mr. Scott Russell must have known the dispositions of those whom he was addressing. No doubt, when he leant to this side of the congregation, he used the language which would be agreeable to their sympathies and feelings, and yet so it fell out that there was but one commoner in this illustrious body—like a solitary non-commissioned officer preferred from the ranks to the mess-table. (Laughter.) That is the description—it is by describing men as peers, lords, and baronets, that he finds he will make his prescription most acceptable to those for whom it was intended. Now this is all very well—I know there cannot be much force in any particular illustration with respect to a matter that can only be judged by a long course of observation; but this I do say is my own conviction,—the general sentiment of the mass of the population of this country is they think in some way or other that the people who compose the House of Lords in a very large proportion are either themselves men or the descendants of men who were put into the House of Lords for public services—(cheers)—and where men have been put in the House of Lords for public services they are disposed to look with considerable favour upon the descendants of such men until they have proved themselves unworthy. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone next applied himself to a refutation of the idea that the interests of the working classes are not properly understood, reviewing for this purpose the history of the last eighteen years as affecting the working man—protective duties had been removed, and from fifteen to twenty millions of taxation upon commodities had been removed. The income-tax was now one penny lower than it was eighteen years ago. The working man had been invested with the franchise, and before he was six or eight months older he would have the ballot. The Education Act had been passed, and University Tests had been abolished. [The removal of the paper duty had resulted in the creation of a press which for the lowness of its price, its general excellence, &c., was a wonder of the world. Add to all this, the public service, civil and military, had been freed of the barriers of patronage, nomination, &c.—

But, gentlemen, while I impose upon the Government and the Legislature every burden that they are in their own nature capable of bearing, in my own mind they are not your friends, but they are your enemies, in fact though not in intention, who teach you to look to the Legislature for the radical removal of the evils that afflict human life. I read but a few days ago in a questionable book verses that, I think, contain much good sense, and I will read them to you:—

People throughout the land,
Join in one social band,
And save yourselves,
If you would happy be,
Free from all slavery,
Banish all knavery,
And save yourselves.

(Cheers.) It is the individual mind and conscience, it is the individual character, on which mainly human happiness or misery depends. (Cheers.) The social problems that confront us are many and formidable. Let the Government labour to its utmost, let the Legislature labour days and nights in your service; but, after the very best has been attained and achieved, the question whether the English father is to be the father of a happy family and the centre of a united home is a question which must depend mainly upon himself. (Cheers.) And those who propose to you—whoever they may be—schemes like those seven points of which I have spoken; those who promise to the dwellers in towns that every one of them shall have a house and garden in free air, with ample space; those who tell you that there shall be markets for selling at wholesale prices retail quantities—I won't say are impostors, because I have no doubt they are sincere; but I will say they are quacks—(cheers)—they are deluded and beguiled by a spurious philanthropy, and when they ought to give you substantial, even if they are humble and modest boons, they are endeavouring, perhaps without their own consciousness, to delude you with fanaticism, and offering to you a fruit which, when you attempt to taste it, will prove but ashes in your mouths. (Cheers.) No, gentlemen, what we have to ask ourselves are questions which depend on ourselves individually, in the main, to answer—how are the ravages of strong drink to be arrested? (Cheers.) In an age when, from year to year, more and more women are becoming self-dependent members of the community, how, without tampering with the cardinal laws that determine providentially their position in the world, are we to remove the serious social inequalities under which I, for one, think they labour. (Cheers.) How, in a country where wealth accumulates with such vast rapidity, are we to check the growth of luxury and selfishness by a sound and healthy opinion? How are we to secure to labour its due honour? I mean not only to the labour of the hands, but to the labour of the man with any and all the faculties which God has given him. (Cheers.) How are we to make ourselves believe, and how are we to bring the country to believe, that in the sight of God and man labour is honourable and idleness is contemptible? (Cheers.) Depend upon it, gentlemen, I do but speak the serious and solemn truth when I say that, beneath the political questions that are found on the surface lie those deeper and more searching questions that enter into the breast and strike home to the conscience and mind of every man; and it is upon the solution of these questions that the well-being of England must depend. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I use the words of a popular poet when I give vent to this sentiment of hope, with which, for one, I venture to look forward to the future of this country. He says—

The ancient virtue is not dead, and long may it endure;
May wealth in England,—

and I am sure he means by wealth that higher sense of it, prosperity and sound prosperity—

May wealth in England never fail, nor pity for the poor.

(Cheers.) May strength and the means of material prosperity never be wanting to us; but it is far more important that there shall not be wanting the disposition to use those means aright. Gentlemen, I shall go from this meeting, having given you the best account of my position in my feeble power, within the time and under the circumstances of the day—I shall go from this meeting strengthened by the comfort of your kindness and your indulgence, to resume my humble share in public labours. No motive will more operate upon me, in stimulating me to the discharge of duty, than the gratitude with which I look back upon the, I believe, unexampled circumstances under which you made me your representative. (Cheers.) But I shall endeavour—I shall make it my hope—to show that gratitude less by words of idle compliment or hollow flattery than by a manful endeavour, according to the measure of my gifts, humble as they may be, to render service to a Queen that lives in the hearts of the people—(cheers)—and to a nation with respect to which I will say that, through all prosperity, whether it be praised or whether it be blamed; whether it be acquitted or whether it be condemned; it will be acquitted or condemned upon this issue, of having made a good or bad use of the most splendid opportunities; of having turned to proper account, or failed to turn to account, the powers, the energies, the faculties, which rank the people of this little island as among the few great nations that have stamped their name and secured their fame among the greatest nations of the world. (Great cheering.)

Mr. W. R. Jolly and Dr. W. Bennett, in brief speeches, moved and seconded a resolution of confidence in Mr. Gladstone, and nearly the whole of the vast assemblage held up their hands for it.

The right hon. gentleman briefly acknowledged the compliment paid him amidst renewed cheers, and a general rush of the crowd towards the platform, who sought to shake hands with the right hon. gentleman. Mr. Gladstone shook hands with two and three at a time, and the crowd quietly dispersed.

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